THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, ABRIDGED FROM HUME.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE ABRIDGEMENT OF MR. GIBBON's ROMAN HISTORY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR C. AND G. KEARSLEY, FLEET-STREET.
MDCC XCV.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE indulgence which I hitherto have experienced from the public, has encouraged me again to become a candidate for its favour. On this occaſion, it is upon the merit of Hume that I principally ſtand; and if I ſhould be found to have traced in two volumes, faithfully and clearly, the moſt important events which that hiſtorian has recorded and adorned in eight, I ſhall have attained to the full extent of my labours.

The Author of the Abridgement of the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

ERRATA.

Vol. I.

Page	line	
7	8	for *bad* read *had*
109	40	for *immenſities* r. *immunities*
110	30	for *irlaics* r. *laics*
202	4	for *and* England r. *of* England.
221	38	for 100,0000 r. 100,000
222	4	for *Ewdard* r. *Edward*
259	17	for *crown* r. *people*
405	15	for *ſatisfaction* r. *diſſatisfaction.*
418	40	for *Calais* r. *Francis*
425	4	for *geeat* r. *great*
431	36	for *inſenſible* r. *ſenſible*
473	19	for *marching* r. *matching.*

THE CONTENTS
OF THE
FIRST VOLUME.

Chapter the First.

Page.

THE Britons.—Their origin from the Gauls or Celtæ—Their governments—Their religion.—Invaſion of Cæſar.—Progreſs of the Romans.—Victories of Agricola.—The Romans abandon Britain.—State of the Saxons—They are invited by the Britons to their ſuccour—Their conqueſts.—The heptarchy.—The kingdom of Kent—of Northumberland—of Eaſt Anglia—of Mercia—of Eſſex—of Suſſex—of Weſſex. - - 1

Chapter the Second.

Egbert—Ethelwolf—Ethelbald and Ethelbert—Etherea—Alfred the Great—Edward the Elder—Athelſtan—Edmund—Edred—Edwy—Edgar—Edward the Martyr—Ethelred.—Settlement of the Normans—Edmund Ironſide—Canute the Great—Harold Harefoot—Hardicanute—Edward the Confeſſor.—Acceſſion of Harold——His victory over Halfager king of Norway.—Invaſion of the Normans.—Battle of Haſtings.—Defeat and death of Harold. - - - - - - 22

Chapter the Third.

State of England at the conqueſt.—Succeſſion of kings.—The Wittenagemot.—Power of the ariſtocracy.—The ſeveral orders of men.—Courts of juſtice.—Criminal law.—Rules of proof.—Puniſhments.—Value of money.—Revenue of the king.—Military force.—Conſequences of the battle of Haſtings.—Submiſſion of the Engliſh.—Settlement of the government.—King's

Page

return to Normandy.—Diſcontents of the Engliſh—Their inſurrections.—Rigours of the Norman government.—New inſurrections.—New rigours of government.—Introduction of the feudal law.—Innovation in eccleſiaſtical government.—Inſurrection of the Norman barons.—Diſpute about inveſtitures.—Revolt of Prince Robert.—Domeſday Book.—The New Foreſt.—War with France.—Death—and character of William the Conqueror. - - - 58

Chapter the Fourth.

Acceſſion of William, ſurnamed Rufus.—A conſpiracy againſt him.—Invaſion of Normandy.—The cruſades.—Acquiſition of Normandy.—Quarrel with Anſelm the primate.—Death and character of William Rufus.—Acceſſion of Henry.—Invaſion of, and accommodation with, Robert—Conqueſt of Normandy.—Quarrel and compromiſe with Anſelm.—Wars abroad.—Death of Prince William.—Death of Henry.—Stephen aſcends the throne.—War with Scotland.—Inſurrection in favour of Matilda.—Stephen taken priſoner.—Matilda crowned.—Stephen releaſed.—Reſtored to the crown.—Civil Wars—Compromiſe between the king and Prince Henry.—Death of the king. - - - 78

Chapter the Fifth.

State of France.—Firſt acts of Henry's government.—The king determines to repreſs the encroachments of the eccleſiaſtical power.—Character and riſe of Thomas à Becket—He is made archbiſhop of Canterbury.—Quarrel between the king and Becket.—Conſtitutions of Clarenden.—Baniſhment of Becket—Compromiſe with him—His return from baniſhment—

Page

His murder.—Submiſſion of the king.—State of Ireland.—Conqueſt of that iſland.—The king's accommodation with the court of Rome.—Revolt of young Henry and his brothers.—Wars and inſurrections.—War with Scotland.—William king of Scotland defeated and taken priſoner.—The king's accommodation with his ſon.—Cruſade.—Revolt of Prince Richard.—Death and character of Henry. - - - - - - - 101

Chapter the Sixth.

Acceſſion of Richard—Maſſacre of the Jews.—His preparations for the cruſade—Reviews his troops on the borders of Burgundy.—Tranſactions in Sicily.—War in Paleſtine.—Diſorders in England.—The king leaves Paleſtine—His captivity in Germany.—War with France.—Richard returns to England—Is reconciled to his brother John—His death and character—Is ſucceeded by John.—War with France.—Marriage of the king.—Murder of Arthur duke of Brittany.—The king's loſſes in France—His quarrel with the court of Rome—Interdict of the kingdom.—Excommunication of the king—His ſubmiſſion to the Pope.—Feudal ſyſtem.—Its progreſs.—Diſcontents of the barons and people.—Inſurrection of the barons.—Magna Charta.—Renewal of the civil war.—Prince Lewis called over.—Death and character of John. - - - - - - - - 133

Chapter the Seventh.

Settlement of the government.—Defeat of the French.—General pacification.—Death of the protector.—Domeſtic commotions.—Hubert de Burgh diſplayed.—The biſhop of Wincheſter miniſter.—King's partiality to foreigners.—

public

Page

Public grievances.—Extortions of the ſee of Rome.—Affairs of Sicily.—Earl of Cornwall elected king of the Romans.—Diſcontent of the barons.—Simon de Montfort earl of Leiceſter.—Proviſions of Oxford.—Uſurpations of the barons.—Prince Edward.—Civil wars.—Reference to the king of France.—Renewal of the civil wars.—Battle of Lewis.—Houſe of Commons.—Battle of Eveſham.—Death and character of Leiceſter.—Clemency of the king.—Prince Edward ſails to the Holy Land.—Death and character of Henry.—Price of wheat.—Oppreſſion of the Jews.—Abolition of the ordeal. 159

Chapter the Eighth.

Civil adminiſtration of the king.—Conqueſt of Wales.—Affairs of Scotland.—Competition for the crown.—Reference to Edward.—Homage of Scotland.—Award of Edward in favour of Baliol.—War with France.—Conſtitution of parliament.—War with Scotland.—Scotland ſubdued.—War with France.—Diſſentions with the clergy and barons.—Peace with France.—Revolt of Scotland—That kingdom again ſubdued—Again revolts—Is again ſubdued.—Robert Bruce.—Third revolt of Scotland.—Death and character of Edward the Firſt—Acceſſion of Edward the Second—His weakneſs—Paſſion for Piers Gaveſton.—Diſcontent of the barons.—Murder of Gaveſton.—War with Scotland.—Battle of Bannockburn.—Hugh le Deſpenſer.—Civil commotions.—Execution of the earl of Lancaſter.—Conſpiracy againſt the king.—Inſurrection.—Edward dethroned and murdered—His character. - - - - - 179

Page

Chapter the Ninth.

War with Scotland.—Execution of Mortimer.—State of Scotland.—War with that kingdom.—King's claim to the crown of France.—War with France.--Naval victory.--Domeſtic diſturbances.—Affairs of Brittany.—Renewal of the War with France.—Invaſion of France.—Battle of Crecy.—War with Scotland.—Captivity of the King of Scots.—Calais taken.—Inſtitution of the Garter.—State of France.—Battle of Poictiers.—Captivity of the king of France.—Peace of Bretigny.—State of France.—Expedition into Caſtile.—Rupture with France.—Ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh.—Death of the Prince of Wales.—Death and character of the king. - 206

Chapter the Tenth.

Government during the minority.—Inſurrection of the common people.—Diſcontents of the barons.—Cabals of the duke of Gloceſter—His murder.—Baniſhment of the duke of Hereford —His return.—Depoſition of the king—His murder.—Henry the Fourth.—Commotion in Wales.—Rebellion of the earl of Northumberland.—Battle of Shrewſbury.—Death and character of the king.—Early conduct of Henry the Fifth—His reformation.—State of France.—Invaſion of that kingdom.—Battle of Agincourt —State of France—New invaſion of that kingdom.—Aſſaſſination of the duke of Burgundy. —Treaty of Troyes.—Marriage of the king—His death and character. - - - - 248

Chapter the Eleventh.

Government during the minority.—State of France.—The maid of Orleans.—Death of the duke of Bedford.—Decline of the Engliſh in

Page

France.—Truce with France.—Marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou.—Murder of the duke of Gloceſter.—Renewal of the war with France.—The Engliſh expelled.—Claim of the duke of York.—The parties of York and Lancaſter.—Civil wars.—Death of the duke of York.—Edward the Fourth aſſumes the crown.—Battle of Touton.—Henry eſcapes into Scotland.—Battle of Hexham.—Henry taken priſoner—Edward's marriage—Diſguſt of the earl of Warwick.—Edward expelled.—Henry reſtored.—Edward returns.—Battle of Barnet, and death of Warwick.—Battle of Teukeſbury, and murder of Prince Edward.—Death of Henry the Sixth.—Invaſion of France.—Peace of Pecquigni.—Death and character of Edward the Fourth. - - - 291

Chapter the Twelfth.

Edward V.—Duke of Gloceſter protector.—Aſſumes the crown.—Murder of Edward V. and of the duke of York.—Richard III.—Invaſion by the earl of Richmond.—Battle of Boſworth.—Death and character of Richard III.—Acceſſion of Henry VII.—Sweating ſickneſs.—King's marriage.—Lambert Simnel.—Revolt of Ireland.—Intrigues of the ducheſs of Burgundy.—Lambert Simnel invades England.—Battle of Stoke.—State of foreign affairs.—War with France.—Peace of France.—Perkin Warbec—He is avowed by the ducheſs of Burgundy.—Trial and execution of Stanley.—Perkin retires to Scotland.—Inſurrection in the Weſt.—Battle of Blackheath.—Fate of Perkin.—Oppreſſions of the people.—Sickneſs of the king.—His death and character. - - - 353

Page

Chapter the Thirteenth.

Popularity of the new king—his marriage.—Foreign affairs.—War with France—with Scotland.—Wolsey minister.—Battle of Guinegate.—Battle of Flouden.—Peace with France.—Wolsey's administration.—Progress of Francis the First.—Tournay delivered to France.—Wolsey appointed legate.—Charles king of Spain chosen emperor.—Interview between Henry and Francis.—Trial of the duke of Buckingham.—Henry styled Defender of the Faith.—War with France and Scotland.—Battle of Pavia.—Francis recovers his liberty.—Scruples concerning the king's marriage.—Anne Boleyn.—Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.—The pope's ambiguous conduct.—The cause evoked to Rome.—Wolsey's fall.—Commencement of the reformation in England.—Foreign affairs.—Wolsey's death.—Progress of the reformation.—The king's final breach with Rome. 400

Chapter the Fourteenth.

Religious principles.—Maid of Kent.—Trial and execution of Fisher, bishop of Rochester—Of sir Thomas More.—King excommunicated.—Death of queen Catherine.—Disgrace of queen Anne—Her trial and execution.—Insurrection.—Birth of prince Edward, and death of queen Jane.—Cardinal Pole.—Disputation with Lambert.—Law of the six articles.—Succession.——Marriage with Anne of Cleves.—Trial and death of Cromwel.—King divorced from Anne of Cleves.—His marriage with Catherine Howard.—Discovery of the queen's dissolute life.—War with Scotland.—Death of James V.—Treaty with Scotland.—Rupture with France.

Page

—Affairs of Scotland.—Peace with France and Scotland.—Execution of the earl of Surry.—Attainder of the duke of Norfolk.—Death of the king—His character. - - - 452

Chapter the Fifteenth.

State of the Regency.—-Hertford Protector.—Progreſs of the reformation.—War with Scotland.—Young queen of Scots ſent into France.—Cabals of lord Seymour—His attainder and execution.—Inſurrections.—War with Scotland and France.—Conſpiracy againſt Somerſet.—He reſigns his protectorſhip.—Warwic created duke of Northumberland.—Trial of Somerſet—His execution.—Succeſſion changed.—King's death.—Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen—Deſerted by the people.—Mary acknowledged.—Northumberland executed.—Catholic religion reſtored.—-Queen's marriage with Philip.—Wyat's inſurrection.—Execution of lady Jane Grey.—Philip's arrival in England.—Perſecutions.—-Execution of Cranmer.—-War with France.—Calais taken by the French.—Death of the queen.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

The Britons—Their origin from the Gauls or Celtæ—Their Governments—Their Religion.—Invaſion of Cæſar—Progreſs of the Romans.—Victories of Agricola.—The Romans abandon Britain.—State of the Saxons.—They are invited by the Britons to their ſuccour.—Their conqueſts.—The heptarchy.—The kingdom of Kent—of Northumberland—of Eaſt Anglia—of Mercia—of Eſſex—of Suſſex—of Weſſex.

THOUGH it is generally regretted, that the hiſtory of remote ages is involved in obſcurity and contradiction, yet the revolutions incident to barbarians are ſo much guided by caprice, and ſo often terminated by cruelty, that they diſguſt us by the uniformity of their appearance; the convulſions of a civiliſed people compoſe only the inſtructive and intereſting parts of hiſtory: neglecting therefore the tales of the early ſtate of the country before us,

we ſhall conſider the condition of the inhabitants, as it appeared to the Romans on their invaſion. We ſhall lightly paſs over the conqueſt made by that empire; we ſhall haſten through the dark period of Saxon annals; and ſhall dwell alone on the times when authentic materials promiſe to improve as well as entertain the reader.

The firſt inhabitants of Britain are repreſented by all ancient writers as a tribe of the Gauls or Celtæ, who paſſed over from the neighbouring continent: the ſimilarity of language and of manners, of government and ſuperſtition, juſtify the conjecture; but the arts and refinements which the Gauls had acquired from the Italians, diffuſed but a faint light over this iſland; and the merchants of Greece and Italy who viſited it, excited the admiration of their countrymen by their exaggerated accounts of the ferocity of the people. Yet in the ſouth-eaſt parts, the firſt ſteps had been taken, before the age of Cæſar, towards a civil ſettlement; the Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had there greatly increaſed; the other inhabitants of the iſland, ſtill maintained themſelves by paſture; their clothes were furniſhed from the ſkins of beaſts; they dwelt in huts which they reared in their foreſts and marſhes, and they eaſily ſhifted their habitations, according as they were influenced by the dread of an enemy, by the hope of plunder, or the convenience of feeding their cattle.

Their wants were few, their poſſeſſions ſcanty; their governments, though monarchical, were free; they were divided into many ſmall nations or tribes; nor was it poſſible for their chieftains to eſtabliſh a deſpotic authority over a people who had acquired a reliſh for liberty, who were naturally brave, and whoſe ſole property was their arms and their cattle. Faction from within, and jealouſy from without, agitated each ſtate: the arts of peace were unknown; war was their occupation; their religion formed a conſiderable part of their government; and the authority of the Druids, their prieſts, was almoſt unbound-

ed.

ed. Beſides directing all religious duties, they preſided over the education of youth; they enjoyed an immunity from military ſervice, and from taxes; their judgments were deciſive between ſtates as well as individuals. Whoever refuſed to ſubmit to their decree was interdicted from public worſhip; was debarred all intercourſe with his fellow citizens; his company was ſhunned as profane and dangerous; he was deprived of the protection of the law; death became to him a welcome relief from his miſery and infamy; and thus the bands of government, which were naturally looſe among a rude and turbulent people, were happily confirmed by the terrors of ſuperſtition.

Beſides the penalties which it was in the power of the Druids to inflict in this world, they extended their authority by inculcating the eternal tranſmigration of ſouls. They practiſed their rites in dark groves or ſecret receſſes, and the awe of religion was increaſed by the myſterious veil under which it was concealed; human ſacrifices were cuſtomary; the ſpoils of war were devoted to their divinities; and they puniſhed with the ſevereſt tortures whoever dared to ſecrete any part of the conſecrated offering. Theſe treaſures they kept in woods and foreſts: they were protected by the terrors of religion; no hand was found ſo daring as to invade them; even avarice was enchained by the dread of holy reſentment; no idolatrous worſhip ever attained ſuch an aſcendancy over mankind, as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the influence of it was acknowledged by the Roman conquerors, when they ſuppreſſed the dangerous power of the Druids, though they tolerated every other form of ſuperſtition.

Such was the ſtate of Britain, when Cæſar, after having over-run Gaul, was prompted, by his inſatiate thirſt of glory, to invade it. He landed, it is ſuppoſed, near Deal; and in two ſucceſſive campaigns defeated the Britons under Caſſivelaunus, paſſed the Thames, accepted the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, and returned with Anno ante C. 55.

his army to Gaul, having eſtabliſhed over the iſland a nominal, rather than a real authority.

It was not until a century afterwards, and
A. D. 43. in the reign of Claudius, that the Roman enſigns were again diſplayed in Britain; the rude inhabitants were broken in ſeveral battles by Plautius; and the ſkill of his general, rather than the preſence of the emperor, commanded the ſubmiſſion of the Cantii, the Atrebates, the Regni, and the Trinobantes, who inhabited the ſouth-eaſt parts of the iſland. The other Britons under Caractacus, ſtill maintained an obſtinate reſiſtance, until that monarch was defeated and taken priſoner on the banks of the Severn by Oſtorius.

The captivity of Caractacus had not en-
A. D. 59. tirely ſubdued the ſpirit of the Britons; and Suetonius, who in the reign of Nero, aſpired to the total ſubjection of the country, after penetrating into, and reducing the iſland of Angleſey, was aſtoniſhed by the the general revolt of a people whom he conſidered as ſubdued. Inflamed by the indignant reproaches of Boadicea, the queen of the Iceni, the Britons ſtarted to arms. The Romans were obliged to abandon London, already a flouriſhing colony, and ſeventy thouſand of them were impriſoned and maſſacred by the exaſperated barbarians; their fate, however, was ſoon after avenged by Suetonius in a bloody and deciſive battle, in which eighty thouſand Britons are ſuppoſed to have periſhed; and Boadicea rather than fall into the hands of the victor, put an end to her life by poiſon.

But the general who finally eſtabliſhed
A. D. 86. the dominion of the Romans over Britain, was Julius Agricola, who governed it in the reigns of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian. This commander formed a regular plan for ſubduing the iſland, and rendering the acquiſition uſeful to the conquerors, he carried his victorious arms northwards; pierced the foreſts and mountains of Caledonia; defeated the barbarians in every encounter; and having fixed

fixed a chain of garriſons between the Friths of Clyde and Forth, he thus ſeparated it from the ruder and more barren parts of the iſland, and ſecured the Roman province from the incurſions of its ferocious neighbours.

During theſe military enterpriſes Agricola neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced laws and arts among the Britons; he taught them to deſire and attain all the conveniencies of life; he reconciled them to the Roman language and manners; and endeavoured to render eaſy the chains he had forged for them. The inhabitants gradually acquieſced under the dominion of their maſters. To ſecure them from the irruptions of the Caledonians, Adrian built a rampart between the river Tyne, and the Frith of Solway: it was ſtrengthened with new fortifications by Severus; and from the expedition of that emperor during two hundred years, ſuch a profound tranquillity prevailed in Britain, that little mention is made of the affairs of that iſland by any hiſtorian. The natives diſarmed, diſpirited, and ſubmiſſive, had loſt all deſire, and even idea of their former liberty and independence.

But when the Roman empire, ſunk into luxury and ſervitude, was aſſailed by the fierce barbarians of the North, and the emperors were obliged to recall the diſtant legions to the protection of the capital, Britain, though ſecured by the ſea from the inroads of the Goths and Huns, found enemies on its frontiers who took advantage of its defenceleſs ſituation. The Picts who ſeem to have been a tribe of the Britiſh race driven northwards by the arms of Agrippa, and the Scotch who were ſuppoſed to have migrated from Ireland, pierced the rampart of Adrian, and extended their ravages over the cultivated country. The emperors were no longer capable of detaching troops from the continent to repell them; reduced to extremities at home, they grew weary of diſtant expeditions; they reſtored the Britons their independence; but at the ſame time they informed them, they muſt no longer look to them for ſuccour; that they might leave the

iſland with the better grace they, however, aſſiſted them in repairing the works of Severus; and having diſcharged this laſt duty of friendſhip, they took a final adieu of Britain after having been maſter of the faireſt portion of it for near four centuries.

A. D. 448. The abject Britons regarded the preſent of liberty as fatal to them; unaccuſtomed to the perils of war and the cares of civil government, they found themſelves incapable of reſiſting the incurſions of their fierce and ſavage neighbours. The northern walls were again overthrown, and the ferocity of the Picts and Scots, was augmented by the helpleſs condition and ſubmiſſive behaviour of the vanquiſhed inhabitants. The latter in vain implored the aid of the Romans in an epiſtle which was inſcribed the *Groans of the Britons*. The tenor of the epiſtle was ſuitable to the ſuperſcription: *The barbarians*, ſay they, *on the one hand chaſe us into the ſea; the ſea on the other throws us back on the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of periſhing by the ſword or by the waves*; but the weſtern empire at that time was preſſed by the arms of the terrible Attila; and Ætius, the patrician, who defended it, could only pity the diſtreſs of his allies. The unhappy Britons thus rejected, were reduced to deſpair; and attending only to the ſuggeſtions of their own fears, and to the counſels of Vortigern, prince of Dumnonium, who though ſtained with every vice, poſſeſſed the chief authority among them, they invited, by a deputation, the Saxons to ſail to their protection.

Of all the barbarous nations the Germans ſeem to have been moſt diſtinguiſhed for their valour and their love of liberty; their government was in ſome caſes monarchical; but the power of the prince was reſtrained by the will of the people; as ſoon as the free-born Goth had attained to manhood he was introduced into the general council of his countrymen, and adopted as their equal member; he followed whatever chief his caprice or judgment might prefer; and the warriors of each tribe attached themſelves to their leader

leader with the moſt devoted affection, and unſhaken conſtancy. Enamoured of danger and ſpoil the impatient barbarians diſdained the labours and advantages of agriculture; war was their occupation; and the care of the houſe and family, the management of the land and cattle, was delegated to the old and infirm, to women and ſlaves.

The Saxons had been for ſome time regarded as one of the moſt warlike tribes of this fierce people, and had become the terror of the neighbouring nations. They had poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſea coaſt from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland; and when the Britons appeared among them, they acknowledged the influence of Hengiſt and Horſa, two brothers who boaſted their divine deſcent from the god Woden. Theſe Saxon princes received with pleaſure an invitation which was recommended by the hope of fame and plunder; they embarked with about ſixteen hundred of their followers, in three veſſels, landed near the iſle of Thanet, and attacked with confidence and ſucceſs the northern invaders. A. D. 449.

But it was for themſelves and not for their allies, that they had conquered; they repreſented to their countrymen, the facility of ſubjecting a people long diſuſed to arms, and deſtitute of all national attachments and regards. The fertility of Britain allured five thouſand Saxons to join them, and Hengiſt and Horſa having concluded an alliance with the Scots and Picts, whom they had been invited to reſiſt, turned their arms immediately againſt the Britons whom they had engaged to protect.

Deſpair with the Britons ſupplied the place of courage; they depoſed Vortigern whoſe vices had long rendered him deſpicable, and choſe in his ſtead his ſon Vortimer. They ventured to meet in the field their perfidious enemies, and though generally defeated they obtained the ſatisfaction of revenge, ſince one action is diſtinguiſhed by the death of Horſa. His brother Hengiſt reinforced by his countrymen, ſtill

advanced to victory; in his bloody courſe he ſpared neither age, nor ſex, nor condition; and numbers of the Britons to eſcape from his cruelty or avarice, paſſed over to the continent, where in the province of Armorica they were received by a people of the ſame language and manners, and gave to the country the kindred name of Brittany.

In the ſtruggle for independence, Vortimer had expired; and Ambroſius, who ſucceeded in the chief command over the Britons, united them in their reſiſtance to the Saxons; yet Hengiſt maintained his ground; and while he ſettled his brother Octa in Northumberland, he formed into a kingdom, and bequeathed to his poſterity, the counties of Kent, Middleſex, Eſſex, and part of Surry.

His ſucceſs allured new ſwarms from the northern coaſts of Germany; the Britons gradually receded before the invaders to the remote diſtricts of Wales, and Cornwall; and Ælla, a Saxon chief, founded the kingdom of ſouth Saxony, which compriſed Suſſex, and that portion of Surry which Hengiſt had not occupied.

The eſtabliſhment of the weſt Saxons in Hampſhire, Dorſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, and the Iſle of Wight, perpetuates the name of Cerdic, and his ſon Kenric; but it was not until many a bloody conflict that theſe adventurers, enjoyed in peace the harveſts of their toils. They were oppoſed by Arthur, prince of the Silures, whoſe heroic valour ſuſtained the declining fate of his country, and whoſe name has been celebrated by Thalieſſin, and the other Britiſh bards; though it is ſcarce poſſible to diſcern the truth through the cloud of fiction which involves his military achievements, yet it is certain that the Saxons about that time were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Mount Baden, a ſtrong fortreſs near Bath, and were diſcomfited in a great battle. Though theſe checks ſtopped the progreſs of Cerdic, he was left in poſſeſſion of the territory already mentioned, and his ſon cemented it into a powerful kingdom.

New

New tribes of Saxons rapidly followed in queſt of ſpoil, or glory; in 575 Uffa aſſumed the title of king of the Eaſt Angles; in 585 Crida, that of Mercia, and Erkenwint that of Eaſt Saxony; this latter was diſmembered from that of Kent, and comprehended Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire; that of the Eaſt Angles, Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and Mercia was extended over all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn, to the frontiers of theſe two kingdoms.

It was not until 547, that the Saxons in Northumberland were able to enlarge their limits, when under Ida a Saxon prince, who boaſted his deſcent from Woden, and led an hungry band to the aid of his countrymen, they ſubdued all Northumberland, the biſhopric of Durham, and the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland; about the ſame time a ſecond Ælla, having conquered Lancaſhire, and the greater part of Yorkſhire, received the appellation of king of Deiri: theſe two kingdoms were united in the perſon of Ethelfrid, grandſon of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Ælla; and expelling her brother Edwin, poſſeſſed himſelf of one of the moſt powerful of the Saxon kingdoms under the title of Northumberland.

Thus was eſtabliſhed, after a violent conteſt of near an hundred and fifty years, the Heptarchy, or ſeven Saxon kingdoms, in Britain; and the whole ſouthern part of the iſland, except Wales and Cornwall, had totally changed its inhabitants, language, cuſtoms, and political inſtitutions. The cities which had been erected by the Romans, were overthrown by theſe northern invaders; the natives relapſed into their original barbariſm; the monks, the only annaliſts of theſe ages, have related the revolutions and diſſenſions of the conquerors, with ſuch intricacy and credulity, that the moſt profound or eloquent writer muſt deſpair of rendering them either entertaining or inſtructive. Even the great learning and vigorous imagination of Milton ſunk under the weight, and he ſcrupled not to declare that the ſkirmiſhes of kites or crows merited a particular

ticular narrative, as much as the tranſactions of the Saxon Heptarchy: in order, however, to connect the events in ſome tolerable meaſure, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of the ſucceſſion of kings, and of the moſt remarkable revolutions in each kingdom.

In KENT, Eſcus ſucceeded to the dominions, but not to the martial genius, of his father Hengiſt. During his own reign, and that of his ſon Octa, and his grandſon Hermenric, for fifty-four years, the victors languiſhed in peace; but on the acceſſion of Ethelbert their ardour was again indulged; and though the new monarch was unſucceſsful in his firſt enterpriſes, by the defeat of Ceaulin, king of Weſſex, he ſoon after acquired an abſolute aſcendancy over the minds and councils of his countrymen.

Yet the reign of Ethelbert was not chiefly diſtinguiſhed by arms, and the moſt remarkable occurrence of it is the introducton of the chriſtian religion amongſt the Saxon conquerors of Britain. Ethelbert had married Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and a deſcendant from Clovis: the princeſs had ſtipulated for the free exerciſe of her religion; a French biſhop had accompanied her to the court of Canterbury; and her influence over Ethelbert confirmed the Roman pontiff, Gregory, *the great*, in the hopes he had entertained, before he mounted the papal throne, of converting the Britiſh Saxons.

That prelate, while yet in a private ſtation, had obſerved in the market-place of Rome, ſome Saxon youth expoſed to ſale, whom the Roman merchants, in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought of their parents; ſtruck with their fair complexions, and blooming countenances, he aſked to what country they belonged; being told they were *Angles*, he replied, they ought rather to be denominated *Angels*, and lamented the prince of Darkneſs ſhould enjoy ſo fair a prey; enquiring the name of their province, he was informed it was *Deiri*, a diſtrict of Northumberland; "*Deiri*," exclaimed he, *that is good; they are called to the mercy of god from his anger*, de ira. *But what is the*

name of the king of that province; he was told it was *Ælla*, or *Alla: Alleluia*, cried he; *we muſt endeavour that the praiſes of god be ſung in their country:* moved by theſe alluſions he prepared for the perilous journey; and though the eſteem of his countrymen, by raiſing him to the pontificate, allowed him not to embark in perſon, he committed the deſign to Auguſtine, a Roman monk, and forty aſſociates.

The Saxons hitherto had worſhipped Woden, whom they believed to be the anceſtor of their princes, and regarded as the God of war: they fancied if they obtained the favour of this divinity, by their valour, they ſhould be admitted after their death into his hall; and, repoſing on couches, ſhould ſatiate themſelves with ale from the ſkulls of their enemies, whom they had ſlain in battle; but their ſuperſtition was founded only on tradition, and not ſupported by political inſtitutions like that of the Druids: all the other northern conquerors of Europe had been already induced to imbibe the chriſtian faith, nor could the Saxons avoid regarding with veneration a doctrine that required the aſcendancy over their German brethren. The manners and addreſs of Bertha had improved the favourable prepoſſeſſion, and when Auguſtine arrived in Kent he found the fears he had entertained agreeably diſappointed, and Ethelbert well diſpoſed to liſten to his precepts; by means of his interpreters he promiſed to that prince eternal joys, and a kingdom in heaven without end, if he would embrace the tenets of the chriſtian faith. "Your words and promiſes, "replied Ethelbert, are fair; but becauſe they are new "and uncertain I cannot entirely yield to them, and "relinquiſh the principles which I and my anceſtors "have ſo long maintained; you are welcome however "to remain here in peace; and as you have under-"taken ſo long a journey ſolely as it appears for what "you believe to be our advantage, I will ſupply you "with all neceſſaries, and permit you to deliver your "doctrine to my ſubjects." A. D. 597, 827.

Encouraged by this reception, Auguſtine proceeded to preach the goſpel with redoubled zeal to the Kentiſh

Kentiſh Saxons. The auſterity of his manners and his ſelf denial excited their admiration; his proſelytes were numerous, and the king himſelf was perſuaded to ſubmit to the rite of baptiſm. His converſion as well as his marriage with Bertha, begat a connexion of his ſubjects with the French, Italians, and other nations on the continent, and tended to reclaim them from the groſs ignorance and barbariſm in which the Saxon tribes had been involved. Ethelbert alſo enacted, with the conſent of the ſtates of his kingdom, a body of laws, the firſt promulgated by any of the northern conquerors; and after a glorious and beneficial reign of fifty years, he left the kingdom of Kent to his ſon Eadbald.

Eadbald, ſeduced by a paſſion for his mother-in-law, deſerted for ſome time the chriſtian religion, which permitted not ſuch inceſtuous marriages; his people returned with him to idolatry; but he was reclaimed by Laurentius, the ſucceſſor of Auguſtine, who determined not to quit the iſland without making a final effort on the royal apoſtate, he appeared before the prince, and, throwing off his veſtments, ſhowed his body all torn with bruiſes and ſtripes, which he had received, he ſaid, in a viſion from St. Peter, who after ſeverely reproving him for his intention to deſert his charge, had inflicted on him theſe viſible marks of his diſpleaſure. Whatever was the motive of Eadbald, he divorced his mother-in-law, and returned with his people to chriſtianity, and expired after a reign of twenty-two years, leaving two ſons Ermenfrid and Ercombert.

Ercombert, the younger, poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne, and after reigning twenty-four years, bequeathed it to his ſon Egbert; to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it Egbert put to death the ſons of Ermenfrid; yet this bloody precaution was not ſufficient to tranſmit it peaceably to his iſſue; and his ſon Edric was thruſt aſide by the ſtronger arm of Lothaire, the brother of Egbert. Edric ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the king of Suſſex; and in an obſtinate battle Lothaire was ſlain.

The

The victor enjoyed his fortune but two years; and was ſucceeded by his brother Widred, but a ſtrong faction invited Cedwalla, king of Weſſex, with his brother Mollo, to attack the kingdom. The invaders were repulſed, Mollo was killed, and after a reign of thirty-two years, Widred left his crown to his poſterity. Eadbert, Ethelbert, and Alric, ſucceſſively mounted the throne. On the death of the laſt, the royal family of Kent was extinguiſhed, and a variety of rival chiefs urged their pretenſions with the ſword. Egbert who firſt ſucceeded, reigned but two years; Cuthred, brother to the king of Mercia, ſix years; Baldred, an illegitimate branch of the royal family, eighteen; and after a turbulent and precarious reign, he was in the year 723, expelled by Egbert, King of Weſſex, who diſſolved the Saxon Heptarchy, and united the ſeveral kingdoms under his dominion.

NORTHUMBERLAND was governed by Adelfrid, whoſe victories over the Scots, the Picts, and the Welſh, ſpread around the terror of the Saxon arms; yet his ſucceſs in war could not relieve him from the dread of Edwin, whom he had deſpoiled of the kingdom of Deiri. That prince was ſupported by Redwald king of the Eaſt Angles, who ſuddenly penetrated into Northumberland, and encountered Adelfrid in a battle which deprived the latter of his crown and life. The vacant throne was immediately aſcended by Edwin, who was diſtinguiſhed by his vigour and his juſtice, above the other princes of the Heptarchy; a revolution had proved fatal to his ancient protector, the king of the Eaſt Angles, but Edwin rejected the crown that was offered him by the victorious rebels, and fixed it on the head of Earpwold, the ſon of Redwald. The debt of gratitude diſcharged, his next care was the converſion of his people; he had married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert; and that princeſs emulating the conduct of her mother Bertha, had perſuaded her huſband to receive the right of baptiſm. The example of Edwin was rapidly followed by his ſubjects, and he had the ſatisfaction of perceiving

ceiving the majority of the Northumbrians had embraced chriſtianity, when he was ſummoned from the external regulation to the defence of his kingdom; and in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, he periſhed with his ſon Osfrid, in a battle with Penda king of Mercia, and Cedwalla king of the Britons.

On the death of Edwin the kingdom of Northumberland was rent by contending princes; after an interval of ten years, it was in 634 united by Oſwald, the ſon of Adelfrid; he fell like his predeceſſor in battle; and was ſucceeded by his brother Oſwy. From his death, during a dark and turbulent period of above an hundred years, the throne was ſucceſſively filled by Egfrid, Alfred, Oſred, Kenred, Oſric, Celwulph, Eadbert, Oſwolf, Mollo, Ailred, Ethelred, Celwold, Oſred the Second, and Ethelbert; the majority of theſe were the victims to the ambition of their rivals, or the ſeditious ſpirits of their ſubjects: after the death of Ethelbert, an univerſal anarchy prevailed in Nothumberland, and the people having by ſo many fatal revolutions loſt all attachment to their government and princes, were well prepared for ſubjection to a foreign yoke; which Egbert, king of Weſſex, finally impoſed upon them.

East Anglia had been compelled by the arms of Edwin to acknowledge the authority of Earpwold, the great grandſon of Uffa, the founder of the monarchy: in compliance with his protector, Earpwold had embraced chriſtianity, but he was induced to renounce it by the allurements of his wife. His death, like that of moſt of the the Saxon princes, was violent; and the chriſtian religion was reſtored by Segebert, his ſucceſſor and half brother: from the reign of Segebert, Eaſt Anglia preſents nothing worthy of notice until the acceſſion of Ethelbert, who was treacherouſly murdered in 792, by Offa King of Mercia, and his ſtate united to that of Offa.

Mercia, was founded by Crida, and was ruled for ſome time by his ſon Wibba. After his death, Ceorl his kinſman was raiſed to the throne by the influence

of

of Ethelbert king of Kent, in preference to Penda, the ſon of Wibba; nor was it until Penda had attained the age of fifty, that the death of Ceorl opened to him the way to the throne of his father; haughty, fierce, and implacable, he was equally terrible to his ſubjects and his neighbours. Segebert, Eſric, and Annas, three kings of Eaſt Anglia, periſhed ſucceſſively in battle againſt him; as did alſo Edwin and Oſwald of Northumberland: he was at length defeated and ſlain by Oſwy, brother of Oſwald; and his crown devolved on his ſon Peada, who eſtabliſhed the chriſtian religion in Mercia: Peada died a violent death, and was ſucceeded by Wolfhere, by Ethelred, Kendred, Ceolred, and Ethelbald, whoſe various reigns compriſe an unimportant period of about fourſcore years.

Ethelbald periſhed in a popular ſedition; and the throne was occupied by his kinſman Offa, more celebrated for his martial talents than his integrity: he reduced to a ſtate of dependance the king of Kent; and wreſted from the king of Weſſex the counties of Oxford and Glouceſter; but the reputation he had acquired in arms was attained by his treacherous murder of Ethelbert, king of the Eaſt Angles, whom he had invited to Hereford to celebrate his nuptials with his daughter Elfrida: amidſt the feſtivity of the entertainments, Ethelbert was ſeized by Offa, and cruelly beheaded, and the reduction of Eaſt Anglia was the reward of the bloody perfidy; yet Offa endeavoured to palliate his guilt by an artful zeal for the catholic church; he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and the better to ingratiate himſelf with the pontiff he engaged to ſupport there an Engliſh college: to raiſe the income neceſſary, he laid the tax of a penny on each houſe poſſeſſed of thirty pence a year: this impoſt was afterwards levied on all England, and was commonly denominated Peter's pence; and though conferred at firſt as a gift, was afterwards claimed as a tribute by the holy ſee. Offa died after a reign of thirty-nine years; and ſuch was the effect of his devoute liberality, that

that Malmeſbury, one of the beſt Engliſh hiſtorians, declares himſelf at a loſs to determine whether his merits or his crimes preponderated. The tranſient reign of his ſon Egfrith conſiſted only of five months: and his kinſman and ſucceſſor Kenulph, after obtaining and abuſing a victory over Egbert king of Kent, was himſelf killed in an inſurrection of the Eaſt Angles. He left his ſon Kenelm, a minor, who was murdered the ſame year by his ſiſter Quendrade, who had entertained ambitious views of aſſuming the government; but ſhe was ſupplanted by her uncle Ceoluf, who two years after was dethroned by Beornulf: the reign of this uſurper, who was not of the royal family, was ſhort and unfortunate; he was defeated by the Weſt Saxons, and killed by his own ſubjects. Ludican his ſucceſſor underwent the ſame fate; and under the tumultuous reign of Wiglaff, the throne of Mercia was finally ſubverted by Egbert.

Essex was formed into a kingdom by Erkinwin, but affords ſcarce any materials for hiſtory. The names of the princes who ſucceeded the founder, were Sleda, Sebert, Sexted, and Seward, Sigebert the Little, Sigebert the Good, Swithelm, Sigheri, Offa, Selred, Swithred, Sigeric, and Segered. The chriſtian religion was introduced by Sebert; was renounced by Sexted and Seward; and was re-eſtabliſhed by Sigebert the Good; but Sigered, the laſt of the kings of Eſſex, was incapable of reſiſting the arms of Egbert, and his dominions became the prey of the victor.

Sussex was the ſmalleſt kingdom of the Saxon Heptarchy; and is more imperfect in its hiſtory than Eſſex: it was founded by Œlla; and during the reign of his ſon Ciſſa became dependent on Weſſex; Adelwalch, one of the ſucceſſors of Ciſſa, was ſlain in battle by Cedwella king of Weſſex; his ſons were murdered by the conqueror, and the reduction of Suſſex was the firſt ſtep which the Weſt Saxons made towards acquiring the ſole monarchy of England.

The kingdom of Wessex, which finally ſwallowed up all the other Saxon ſtates, was eſtabliſhed with difficulty:

culty: Cerdic, the founder of the monarchy, and his ſon Kenric, encountered in many doubtful fields, the natives, and confirmed in obſtinate and bloody battles, the martial ſpirit of their followers. Ceaulin, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Kenric, who began his reign in 560, was ſtill more ambitious and enterpriſing than his predeceſſors; he acquired part of the counties of Devon and Somerſet; but his invaſion of his Saxon neighbours provoked a general confederacy, and Ceaulin, who had loſt by his haughtineſs the affections of his ſubjects, was expelled from his throne, and died in exile and miſery. Culichelme, and Cuthwin his ſons, governed jointly the kingdom, till the expulſion of the latter in 591; and the death of the former in 593, made way for Cealric, to whom ſucceeded Ceobald by whoſe death, which happened in 611, Kynegils inherited the crown; this prince embraced chriſtianity, and was ſucceeded by Kenwalch, after whoſe death, in 672, the kingdom was governed by his widow Sexburga for two years; on her deceaſe Edwin aſcended the throne, but his reign was ſhort, and that of his ſucceſſor Kentuin inglorious; nor was it until the ſceptre paſſed to Ceodwalla, that the martial glory of the Weſt Saxons revived. Under that prince they ſubdued the kingdom of Suſſex, and ravaged that of Kent: ſatiate of glory, Ceodwalla returned to Rome, and reſigned his crown to Ina, who inherited the military virtues of his predeceſſor, and added to them the more valuable ones of juſtice, policy, and prudence: he made war upon the Britons in Somerſet, conquered the province, and with an humanity uncommon in that age, ſuffered the vanquiſhed to retain their property, and partake the legal inſtitutions of the victors; thoſe inſtitutions he increaſed, and his long reign of thirty-ſeven years may be regarded as one of the moſt glorious and moſt proſperous of the Heptarchy: in the decline of his life he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and after his return ſhut himſelf up in a cloiſter, where he died.

The will of Ina bequeathed his crown to Adelard, the brother of his conſort; his pretenſions were ineffectually diſputed by Oſwald, who boaſted a more immediate deſcent from Cerdic the founder of the monarchy; the defeat of Oſwald left Adelard without a competitor, and on his death, in 741, his couſin Cudred ſucceeded peaceably to the throne. The reign of this prince was diſtinguiſhed by a great victory which he obtained over the king of Mercia; but his kinſman and ſucceſſor Sigebert, neither inherited his virtues nor fortune; he was dethroned by his ſubjects, whom he had inſulted and oppreſſed, and Cenulph was crowned in his place. The reign of Cenulph was various; he triumphed in arms over the Britons, but ſuffered ſome diminution of reputation in his expedition againſt Mercia: he was aſſaſſinated by Kynehard the brother of Sigebert; yet Kynehard reaped not the fruits of his crime; he fell a victim to the reſentment of the Weſt Saxons, and the vacant throne was occupied by Brithric, who was remotely allied to the houſe of Cerdic.

But though Brithric had poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne, the eyes of the Weſt Saxons were directed towards Egbert, a grandſon of Ingild, the brother of Ina, and whoſe early virtues promiſed to revive the memory of that illuſtrious monarch; the ſuſpicion of Brithric was awakened by the partiality of his ſubjects, and Egbert fled from the dangerous jealouſy of his ſovereign, to France. In the court of Charlemagne, he ſtudied the character and cultivated the friendſhip of the celebrated emperor of the Weſt; his manners were poliſhed, and his mind improved by the ſociety and converſation of the French; but in exile he was not forgotten by his countrymen. The cruelty and treachery of Brithric and his conſort had reverted on their own heads: a poiſoned cup which had been intended by the queen for an obnoxious noble, was fatal to Brithric, who had drank it, unconſcious of its contents. His widow immediately fled to France, whence Egbert, by the unanimous voice of his country-

men, was called in the laſt year of the eighth century to fill the throne of Weſſex.

In the bloody competition of the Saxon princes, Egbert was the ſole deſcendant left of thoſe firſt conquerors who ſubdued Britain, and who enhanced their authority by claiming a pedigree from Woden, the ſupreme divinity of their anceſtors. Yet, though invited by this circumſtance, to invade his Saxon neighbours, he choſe rather to turn his arms againſt the Britons of Cornwall, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles, when he was recalled from improving his victories by the hoſtile incurſion of Bernulf, king of Mercia.

The Mercians, before the acceſſion of Egbert had very nearly attained the abſolute ſovereignty in the Heptarchy; their authority or influence was extended over the Eaſt Angles, and the kingdoms of Kent and Eſſex: they aſpired to the dominion of Mercia; but their career was checked by the preſence of Egbert: they were defeated with cruel ſlaughter in Wiltſhire. Kent and Eſſex were the prey of the victor, and Bernulf himſelf periſhed in an attempt to quell a revolt of the Eaſt Angles: his ſucceſſor Ludican, about two years after, met the ſame fate: the Mercians ſubmitted to Egbert, who allowed Wiglaf their countryman to retain the title of king, while he himſelf exerciſed the real powers of ſovereignty. The Northumbrians, involved in anarchy, ſolicited the rule of a prince, whoſe power could reſtore to them ſome form of government: Egbert ſtill, however, allowed to Northumberland, as he had done to Mercia and Eaſt Anglia, the privilege of electing a king, who paid him tribute, and was dependent on him.

Thus, in 827, about four hundred years from the firſt arrival of the Saxons in Britain, the prudence and policy of Egbert united the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy: to introduce knowledge and arts amongſt the inhabitants of them, was a more arduous labour. Chriſtianity had not hitherto baniſhed their ignorance, or ſoftened their barbarous manners: credulity and ſuperſtition had accompanied the doctrines of Rome:

the reverence towards ſaints and reliques ſeems almoſt to have ſupplanted the adoration of the Supreme Being. Monaſtic obſervances were eſteemed more meritorious than the active virtues, and bounty to the church atoned for every violence againſt ſociety: the ſacerdotal habit was the only object of reſpect, while even military genius was neglected: the nobility preferred the ſecurity and ſloth of the cloiſter, to the tumult and glory of war; and the kings, impoveriſhed by the continual benefactions to the church, were neither able to reward valour, nor to ſupport their government.

Another inconvenience which attended this corrupt ſpecies of chriſtianity, was the gradual ſubjection of the kingdom to a foreign juriſdiction, by its ſuperſtitious attachment to Rome: the Saxons were taught by the monks a profound veneration for the holy ſee, and were led to regard it as the capital of their religion; the blindneſs and ſubmiſſive diſpoſition of the people, encouraged the ſucceſſors of St. Peter to advance every day in their encroachments on the independence of the Engliſh church. In the eighth century, Wilfrid, biſhop of Lindisferne, the ſole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom, appealed to Rome againſt the deciſions of an Engliſh ſynod, and thus laid the foundation of the papal pretenſions: he alarmed the imaginations of men, by aſſerting that St. Peter, to whoſe cuſtody the keys of heaven were intruſted, would certainly refuſe admittance to every one who ſhould be wanting in reſpect, to his ſucceſſor. This apprehenſion impreſſed the people for ſeveral ages, and has not even at preſent loſt all influence in catholic countries.

Yet this abject ſuperſtition was not productive of peace: theological controverſies were excited; and the diſputes in Britain were of the moſt ridiculous kind: the variations in the calendars, which were made uſe of for keeping Eaſter, and the different form which was adopted in ſhaving the heads of the prieſts, were the ſubjects of fierce contention, between the Scots and the Britons, the Romans and the Saxons: the latter called their antagoniſts ſchiſmatics; and in order to render

render them odious, affirmed that they concurred once in ſeven years with the Jews, in the time of celebrating that feſtival; that diſputes laſted more than a century, and was at laſt finiſhed, not by men's diſcovering the folly of it, which would have been too great an effort for human reaſon to accompliſh, but by the entire prevalence of the Romiſh ritual over the Scotch and Britiſh.

CHAPTER II.

Egbert—Ethelwolf—Ethelbald and Ethelbert—Etherea—Alfred the Great—Edward the Elder—Athelſtan—Edmund—Edred—Edwy—Edgar—Edward the Martyr—Ethelred.—Settlement of the Normans—Edmund Ironſide—Canute the Great—Harold Harefoot—Hardicanute—Edward the Confeſſor.—Acceſſion of—Harold—His victory over Halfager king of Norway.—Invaſion of the Normans.—Battle of Haſtings.—Defeat and death of Harold.

A. D. 827, 838. THOUGH the conqueſts of Egbert had united the kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy, they ſecured not their tranquillity. The flattering hopes of peace, which the inhabitants of Britain had entertained, were ſoon overcaſt by the appearance of the Danes. The victorious arms of Charlemagne had ravaged Germany; and large bodies of the natives, to elude his perſecutions, had retired to Jutland. From that northern extremity they retaliated on France the evils with which they had been afflicted; the natives of Jutland participated in their reſentment, and concurred in their enterpriſes; in their excurſions they were tempted to viſit England; they landed in that iſland in 787, and the booty they acquired allured them to more frequent deſcents. After an unſucceſsful attempt on Northumberland, they plundered the iſle of Shepey: in 833 they diſembarked in Dorſetſhire from thirty-five ſhips; but

but they were encountered at Charmouth by Egbert, and defeated in a bloody battle; though in a ſecond invaſion they were ſupported by the Britons of Cornwal, they were overthrown with conſiderable ſlaughter at Hengeſdown; when the death of Egbert revived their hopes, and prompted them to new efforts.

Ethelwolf, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Egbert, was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. The firſt meaſure of his reign, was to reſign to his ſon Athelſtan, the provinces of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex. The domeſtic diſſentions which this partition might have inſpired, was ſuſpended by the terror of the Danes. The inroads of theſe were felt through Hampſhire, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Kent; they diſperſed themſelves in ſmall parties over the iſland in ſearch of prey, and on the approach of a ſuperior enemy, they retired with their ſpoils to their veſſels, which they had drawn into the neighbouring creeks and rivers. In their courſe they ſwept away the goods, the cattle, and even the wretched inhabitants; and ſetting ſail they preſented themſelves in ſome diſtant quarter which was not prepared for their reception. They were often repulſed, and ſometimes defeated; yet, notwithſtanding the united efforts of the Saxons and the Britons, they could not be expelled; they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the iſle of Thanet and Shepey, where they inceſſantly haraſſed and ravaged the adjacent coaſts. A. D. 838, 857.

Amidſt the diſtraction of his country, the piety of Ethelwolf had impelled him to make a pilgrimage to Rome. In his return he married Judith, the daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald; but on his landing in England, he met with an oppoſition he little expected. Athelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, was no more; and Ethelbald, his ſecond, had formed the project of excluding his father from a throne for which he ſeemed ſo little qualified. Ethelwolf yielded in a great meaſure to the pretenſions of his ſon; and while in a diviſion of the kingdom he retained the eaſtern, he reſigned the weſtern part of it to Ethelbald.

In avoiding an unnatural competition with his ſon, the prudence or affection of Ethelwolf might be commended; but in yielding to the exorbitant demands of the church, his weakneſs was conſpicuous. The eccleſiaſtics of that age however little verſed in the ſcriptures, had been able to diſcover that under the Jewiſh law, a tenth of all the produce of land was conferred on the prieſthood; they inſiſted that this donation conveyed a perpetual property inherent by divine right, in thoſe who officiated at the altar. They ſeized the opportunity when a feeble king, and a ſuperſtitious people, diſmayed by the ſucceſs of the Danes, were ſuſceptible of any impreſſion which bore the appearance of religion; and they extorted a grant which not only put them in poſſeſſion of the tythes, but exempted them from all the burthens, though impoſed for national defence and ſecurity.

A. D. 857, 866. Ethelwolf lived only two years after making this grant; and by his will he ſhared England between his two eldeſt ſons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; the weſt being aſſigned to the former, the eaſt to the latter; the reign of Ethelbald was ſhort and licentious; his death united the whole government in the hands of his brother, who, during five years, governed with juſtice and prudence, and bequeathed the ſceptre to his brother Ethered.

A. D. 866, 871. The valour of Ethered was not capable of ſtemming the torrent of adverſity; the Danes ravaged Eaſt Anglia, penetrated into the kingdom of Northumberland, and ſeized the city of York. Preſſed in the North by Ethered, and his younger brother Alfred, who accompanied him in all his martial enterpriſes, they directed their march towards Berkſhire; and, defeated in the open field, they ſought ſhelter within the walls of Reading. Thence they infeſted the country round, and fought with various ſucceſs the battles of Aſton and Baſing. In the firſt the Engliſh prevailed; in the laſt they were vanquiſhed; and Ethered received a wound which

proved mortal, and transferred his ſceptre to his brother Alfred.

Alfred was only twenty-two years of age when he aſcended the throne. With his father Ethelwolf he had made the pilgrimage to Rome; and in a ſecond viſit to the Roman pontiff, Leo the Third had foretold his future greatneſs. His early education had been neglected, but the recital of Saxon poems had awakened his genius; and he applied himſelf with diligence and ſucceſs to the ſtudy of the Latin tongue. From theſe elegant purſuits he was recalled by the danger of his country. He had ſcarcely buried his brother when he was obliged to take the field in order to oppoſe the Danes. His firſt eſſay in arms was far from auſpicious of his future glory. At Wilton he gave battle to the invaders, but in purſuing his advantage too eagerly, he was oppreſſed by numbers, and was compelled to relinquiſh the honour of the day. He was ſtill however formidable; and though the Weſt Saxons alone adhered to his ſtandard, he haraſſed his enemies, and reduced them to conclude a treaty, in which they ſolemnly ſwore to evacuate his territories. The oath was taken and violated with equal facility; and Alfred, who had confided in the ſacred obligation, was ſurpriſed and routed, near Exeter. He collected again his ſcattered forces, fought eight battles in one year, and was probably victorious in moſt, ſince he compelled the Danes to ſue again for peace, on condition of being allowed a ſettlement in England: they promiſed to oppoſe the entrance of any more of their countrymen. The arrival of another body of Danes diſplayed their perfidy; the new invaders were joined by the old; they ſeized Chippenham, and extended their ravages over Wiltſhire. A.D. 871, 901.

This laſt event broke the ſpirits of the Saxons; their long toils had proved fruitleſs; and they believed themſelves abandoned by Heaven to deſtruction. Some fled beyond ſea, or ſought refuge in the mountains of Wales; others ſubmitted to the conquerors; and

and Alfred himſelf was obliged to relinquiſh the enſigns of his dignity, and in the meaneſt diſguiſes, to elude the purſuit and fury of his enemies. He was concealed by a neatherd, who had been intruſted formerly with the care of his cows, as his ſervant. In this ſituation, an incident has been preſerved by popular tradition, memorable from the diſtreſs in which ſuch virtue and dignity were involved. The wife of the neatherd was ignorant of the condition of her royal gueſt; and obſerving him one day by the fire-ſide buſy in trimming his arrows, ſhe deſired him to take care of ſome cakes that were toaſting, while ſhe was employed in other domeſtic concerns. But Alfred, whoſe thoughts were differently engaged, forgot the truſt; and the good woman on her return finding her cakes all burnt, rated the king ſeverely, and upbraided him, that he ſeemed pleaſed enough to eat them, though he neglected the care of them.

When Alfred found the ſucceſs of the enemy had made them more remiſs, he collected ſome of his retainers. In the centre of a bog formed by the ſtagnate waters of the Thone and Parret, he found two acres of firm ground, and building himſelf an habitation on it, he rendered it ſecure by its fortifications, and ſtill more by the unknown, and inacceſſible roads which led to it. This place he called Æthelingay, or the Iſle of Nobles; and thence he made frequent and unexpected ſallies on the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arms, but knew not from what quarter the blow came.

It was here he was informed that the earl of Devonſhire had routed Hubba the Dane, who had beſieged him in his caſtle of Kinwith at the mouth of the Tau; had killed Hubba himſelf, and had got poſſeſſion of the famous *reafen*, or enchanted ſtandard, which contained the figure of a raven, and which the Danes believed to have been woven by the three ſiſters of Hinguar and Hubba, with magical incantations, and to expreſs by the motion of its wings, the ſucceſs of whatever enterpriſe they meditated.

Animated

Animated by this gleam of returning fortune, Alfred left his retreat; but before he attempted to aſſemble his ſubjects in arms, he was determined to explore the ſtate of the enemy. His ſkill as a harper procured him admiſſion into their camp; he was introduced into the tent of, and played before, their prince Guthrum; and was witneſs during ſeveral days of their ſupine ſecurity. Encouraged by it, he ſent private emiſſaries to the moſt conſiderable of his friends and ſummoned them to meet him with their retainers, at Brixton, on the borders of Selwood Foreſt. The Engliſh had fatally experienced, that ſubmiſſion had only increaſed the rapacity and inſolence of their conquerors; they repaired to the rendezvous with alacrity, and they received with ſhouts of tranſport a monarch, whom they had always loved, and whom they had long concluded to have been dead. Before their ardour could cool, Alfred led them againſt the Danes. The latter, aſtoniſhed and diſmayed, fled, after a faint reſiſtance: the remnant that had eſcaped from the field were beſieged by the victors in a camp they had fortified; hunger compelled them to implore the clemency of Alfred, whoſe prudence converted them from mortal enemies into faithful friends and confederates. He propoſed to Guthrum and his followers, to re-people the deſerted parts of East Anglia and Northumberland; but he exacted from them a pledge of their future ſincerity, by ſtipulating that they ſhould embrace chriſtianity; the Danes complied; and Guthrum was purified in the baptiſmal font, and received, as the adopted ſon of Alfred, the name of Athelſtan.

The ſucceſs of this expedient ſeemed to correſpond with Alfred's hopes: the greater part of the Danes ſettled peaceably in their new quarters: the more turbulent ſought ſubſiſtance by ravaging the coaſts of France; and for ſeveral years England enjoyed a ſtate of tranquillity. This period was employed by her monarch, in regulating the adminiſtration of civil and criminal juſtice, and of providing for the future defence of the iſland. He fixed the fine for the murder

of

of a Dane, at the ſame amount with that of an Engliſhman; he repaired the ruined cities; he built caſtles and fortreſſes; and eſtabliſhed a regular militia. But, ſenſible that the natural protection of an iſland muſt be by a force at ſea, he increaſed the ſhipping of his kingdom, and trained his ſubjects to naval exerciſes: his veſſels were ſtationed with ſuch judgment as continually to intercept thoſe of the Danes; and for a long time to prevent the inroads of thoſe rapacious pirates.

At length, Haſtings, the celebrated Daniſh chief, having exhauſted the provinces of France along the Loire and the Seine, was obliged to quit a country that no longer afforded him ſubſiſtence, and appeared off the coaſt of Kent with 330 ſail: the greater part of the Danes diſembarked in the Rother, and ſeized the fort of Apuldore. Haſtings himſelf with a fleet of eighty ſail, entered the Thames, and fortified Milton in Kent: but on the firſt alarm, Alfred had flown, with a choſen band, to the defence of his people; the militia were rapidly drawn together, the invaders were cooped up in their fortifications, and obliged to ſubſiſt on the plunder which they had brought with them from France. Tired of this ſituation, the Danes of Apuldore attempted to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom; they were followed and defeated by Alfred at Farnham. They fled to their ſhips; and eſcaped to Merſey in Eſſex, where they erected new works for their protection. In a ſimilar enterpriſe, Haſtings had ſcarcely been more fortunate; and though he avoided the encounter of Alfred, he was glad to find refuge at Bamflete, near the iſland of Canvey, from the approach of that prince.

The attention of Alfred was diſtracted by a new enemy. Guthrum had expired; and his followers, who had been ſettled in Northumberland, had abandoned the toils of huſbandry for the ſpoils of piracy. They were repulſed in two ſucceſſive attempts, on the coaſts of Devon and Suſſex. Several of their ſhips were taken; and they themſelves, diſcouraged by the difficulties

difficulties they had met with, returned to the ſettlements that had been allotted to them.

The diverſion they had made had enabled Haſtings to quit his retreat, and to recommence his ravages; but while he inſulted and plundered the open country, his fortifications at Bamflete were ſtormed by the Engliſh, and his wife and two of his ſons were made priſoners. Alfred ſpared the lives of his captives, and reſtored them to the Daniſh chief, on the condition that he ſhould quit the kingdom.

Many of the Danes refuſed however to follow Haſtings; and having penetrated into the county of Gloceſter, where they were joined by ſome Welch, they were beſieged in their camp at Boddington, by Alfred. After having endured the extremities of famine, in a deſperate ſally, a ſmall number broke through the lines of the Engliſh; theſe were however purſued with diligence by the victor, who having made priſoners of ſeveral, tried them at Wincheſter, and hanged them as robbers, the common enemies of mankind.

The well-timed ſeverity of this execution reſtored full tranquillity to England; not only the Eaſt Anglian and Northumberland Danes, but the Welch acknowledged the authority of Alfred. By prudence, by juſtice, and by valour, he had eſtabliſhed his ſovereignty over all the ſouthern parts of the iſland, from the Engliſh Channel to the frontiers of Scotland; when, in the vigour of his age, and the full ſtrength of his faculties, he expired, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and an half, in which he had deſervedly attained the appellation of *Great*, and the title of founder of the Engliſh monarchy.

The character of Alfred preſents that model of perfection which philoſophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination, than in hopes of its real exiſtence; ſo happily were all his virtues tempered together, ſo juſtly were they blended, and ſo powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper boundaries. He reconciled the

ſevereſt

ſevereſt juſtice with the gentleſt lenity; the brighteſt capacity and inclination for ſcience, with the moſt ſhining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almoſt equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only, that the former, being more rare among princes, as well as more uſeful, ſeem chiefly to challenge our applauſe; and nature, alſo, as if deſirous that ſo bright a production of her ſkill ſhould be ſet in the faireſt light, had beſtowed on him every bodily accompliſhment; his countenance was open and engaging; his ſhape majeſtic; and he could only accuſe that fortune which, by throwing him on a barbarous age, had deprived him of hiſtorians worthy to tranſmit his fame to poſterity.

The martial exploits of Alfred give but an imperfect idea of his merit: it is chiefly to be diſcerned in his civil inſtitutions. The violence and rapacity of the Danes had ſubverted all order throughout England; and to provide a remedy for the evils which their licentiouſneſs had occaſioned, Alfred divided the kingdom into counties. Theſe counties he ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings; every houſeholder was anſwerable for the behaviour of his family or his gueſts: ten houſeholders formed a tithing, who were anſwerable for each other's conduct, and over whom a headborough was appointed to preſide: every man was regiſtered in ſome tithing; and none could change his habitation without a certificate from the headborough.

If the headborough was unwilling to anſwer for the appearance of any one of his tithing who was accuſed, the criminal was committed to priſon: if he fled, thirty-one days were allowed to produce him; and if that time elapſed without their being able to find him, the headborough, and two other members of the tithing, were obliged to appear, and, together with three chief members of the three neighbouring tithings, (making twelve in all) to ſwear that his tithing was free from all privity of the crime committed, and of the eſcape of the criminal: the tithing

was

was otherwiſe ſubject to make ſatisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence; thus every man was ſurety for the behaviour of thoſe who were placed under the diviſion to which he belonged; and thence theſe tithings obtained the name of Frank Pledges.

The rigour of theſe inſtitutions were tempered by others favourable to the freedom of the citizens. In the adminiſtration of juſtice, the headborough ſummoned his tithing to aſſiſt him to decide any trivial difference which occurred among the members. In affairs of greater moment, or in controverſies between members of different tithings, the cauſe was brought before the hundred, which was regularly aſſembled once in four weeks. In their method of deciſion we trace the origin of juries; twelve freeholders were choſen, together with the preſiding magiſtrates of that diviſion, were ſworn to adminiſter impartial juſtice in the cauſe ſubmitted to their juriſdiction. Beſides the monthly, there was an annual meeting of the hundred; when the people, in imitation of their anceſtors the ancient Germans, aſſembled in arms; whence an hundred was called a wapentake; and its court ſerved for the ſupport of military diſcipline as well as the adminiſtration of juſtice.

The county court, which met twice a year, and conſiſted of the freeholders of the county, was ſuperior to that of the hundred, from which it received appeals. The biſhop with the aldermen preſided in it; the latter originally poſſeſſed both the civil and military authority; but Alfred, ſenſible that this conjunction of power might render the nobility dangerous, appointed a ſheriff in each county who was equal with the aldermen in his judicial function; and whoſe office it was to guard the rights of the crown, and to levy the fines.

In default of juſtice in theſe courts there lay an appeal to the king in council; and ſuch was the confidence of his ſubjects in the equity and great talents of Alfred, that his time muſt have been entirely engroſſ-

ed

ed by appeals, had he not taken care to correct the corruption or ignorance of the lower magiſtrates, and to inſtruct his nobility in letters and laws. To guide them in the adminiſtration of juſtice, he framed a code, which though now loſt, ſerved long as the baſis of Engliſh juriſprudence, and is generally deemed the origin of what is denominated the COMMON LAW; and ſuch ſucceſs attended his legiſlation that robbers ſeemed extinguiſhed; and though he is ſaid to have hung up, by way of bravado, golden bracelets near the highways, no men dared to touch them.

The encouragement of learning was the next care of this illuſtrious prince. The ravages of the Danes had ſunk England in ſuch barbariſm, that Alfred complained, that on his acceſſion he knew not one perſon ſouth of the Thames, who could ſo much as interpret the Latin ſervice; and very few even in the northern parts who had reached that pitch of erudition. He invited over the moſt celebrated ſcholars from all parts of Europe; he eſtabliſhed ſchools, and founded, or at leaſt repaired, the univerſity of Oxford. But the moſt effectual expedient was his own example; he uſually divided his time into three equal portions, one was employed in exerciſe, or the refreſhment of the bed and the table; another in the diſpatch of buſineſs; and a third in ſtudy and devotion. To meaſure the hours, he made uſe of burning tapers of equal length; a reſource ſuited to a rude age, when dials and clocks were unknown: he conveyed his morality by apologues, parables, ſtories, and apophthegms couched in poetry: he tranſlated the Fables of Æſop, the hiſtories of Oroſius and Beda, and Boethius on the conſolation of philoſophy; nor did he deem it derogatory from his other characters of ſovereign, legiſlator, warrior, and politician, thus to lead the way to his people in the purſuits of literature.

It was not probable ſo diſcerning a prince ſhould neglect the more uſeful arts of mechaniſm; he introduced and encouraged manufacturers; he prompted men of activity to engage in navigation and commerce;

merce; he appropriated a ſeventh of his revenue to reſtore the ruined cities and caſtles, the palaces, and monaſteries; even the elegancies of life were brought to him from the Mediterranean and the Indies; and ſuch was the impreſſion of his ſagacity and virtue, that not only his ſubjects, but foreigners, regarded him as the greateſt prince, after Charlemagne, who had ariſen in Europe during ſeveral ages.

Of the two ſurviving ſons of Alfred by his wife Ethelſwitha, the daughter of a Mercian earl, Ethelwald the Younger inherited A. D. 901, 925. his father's paſſion for letters, and lived a private life; but Edward the Elder ſucceeded to the military talents as well as the throne of Alfred. He aſſerted his authority in arms againſt the pretenſions of his couſin-german Ethelwald, ſon of Ethelbert, who was the elder brother of Alfred. To ſupport the claim of Ethelwald, a numerous body of the Danes croſſed the ſeas, and the Northumbrians and Eaſt-Anglians declared in his favour; but Edward acted with vigour and promptitude; he penetrated into Eaſt Anglia, and in an action near Bury, the death of Ethelwald terminated the conteſt, and left the rebels without a leader.

Though delivered from a dangerous competitor, Edward was not ſuffered to taſte the pleaſures of tranquillity; his reign was an inceſſant but ſucceſsful ſtruggle againſt the Northumbrians, the Eaſt Angles, and the Danes; nor was he leſs provident in putting his kingdom in defence, than in aſſaulting the enemy; he fortified many of the principal cities; he gained two ſignal victories at Temsford and Maldon; and after a ſtormy but glorious adminiſtration of twenty-four years, he expired, and his kingdom devolved on Athelſtan his natural ſon.

The mature age of Athelſtan gave him the preference over the legitimate children A. D. 925, 941. of Edward, and, amidſt ſtorms of civil commotion and foreign war, he proved himſelf worthy of it: he cruſhed Alfred, a powerful nobleman, who had conſpired againſt him; he penetrated into Scot-

land, and extorted the ſubmiſſion of Conſtantine the king of the Scots; he reduced to obedience the turbulent Northumbrians, and defeated with conſiderable ſlaughters, the Danes and Welch, at Brunſburg, in Northumberland; nor was he inattentive to the internal regulation of his kingdom; and the law which he enacted, that a merchant who had made three long ſea voyages on his own account, ſhould be admitted to the rank of a thane or gentleman, is a proof of a judgment above the prejudices of the age. He died at Gloceſter, after a reign of ſixteen years, and was ſucceeded by Edmund his legitimate brother.

A. D. 941, 946. The reign of Edmund was ſhort, and his death violent; he chaſtiſed the Northumbrians who had riſen again in arms; he conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred it on Malcolm king of Scotland, on condition that he ſhould do him homage for it; but he periſhed by the hand of Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had ſentenced to baniſhment, and who preſumed to enter the hall where he died: the king commanded him to retire; Leolf refuſed to obey; Edmund, naturally choleric, ſeized him by the hair, and the ruffian in the ſtruggle gave him a mortal wound with a dagger.

A. D. 946, 955. Edred was the brother and ſucceſſor of Edmund, and the firſt moments of his acceſſion were occupied in reducing to obedience the Northumbrian Danes, and in compelling Malcolm king of Scotland to renew his homage for the lands he held in England. Though not deſtitute of vigour in war, he was an abject ſlave to ſuperſtition; he abandoned his conſcience to Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, who had attained the reputation of a ſaint; Dunſtan was born of noble parents, and had embraced an eccleſiaſtical life, but his early indiſcretions had eſtranged from him the countenance of the late king, and his ambition prompted him to repair his errors by running into an oppoſite extreme. In a cell ſo ſmall that he could neither ſtand erect in it, nor ſtretch out his limbs, he ſecluded himſelf from the world; his

ſolitary

ſolitary occupation probably turned his brain, and he fancied that in a viſion of the devil to tempt him, he ſeized the malignant ſpirit by the noſe with a pair of hot pincers: this exploit was ſeriouſly credited; and extolled by the public, and inſured Dunſtan the character of ſuperior piety.

Supported by this character, he appeared again in the world, gained an abſolute aſcendancy over Edred, and was placed at the head of the treaſury. The auſterity which had contributed to his advancement he zealouſly promoted; the monks of England had hitherto been a ſpecies of ſecular prieſts, who lived after the manner of the preſent canons or prebendaries, had the diſpoſal of their own time and induſtry, and retained the choice, without quitting the convent of married or ſingle life. But in Italy a new diſcription of monks had ariſen, called Benedictines, who ſecluded themſelves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the moſt inviolable chaſtity: their principles were countenanced by the policy of the ſee of Rome, conſcious that as men ſeparated themſelves from the ties of domeſtic ſociety, they would more zealouſly attach themſelves to the intereſts of their order. The celibacy of prieſts became therefore at Rome a favourite topic, and the pope undertook to make all the clergy in the weſtern world renounce the privilege of marriage. In England he was ſeconded with ardour by Dunſtan, who introduced the reformation into the convents of Glaſtonbury and Abingdon; but the ſecular clergy, who were numerous and rich, were not inclined tamely to part with the advantages they had enjoyed; and the minds of the people were violently agitated by theſe religious controverſies: the monks had however made a conſiderable progreſs, when they received an unexpected check from the death of Edred their ſtrenuous protector.

The children of Edred were too young to aſſume the weight of government, and the throne was filled by his nephew Edwy: the graceful perſon of the new monarch had prepoſ- A. D. 955, 959.

ſeſſed his ſubjects in his favour; but he had unfortunately married Elgiva, a beautiful princeſs of the royal blood, who was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon-law: the monks were loud on this occaſion; and their invectves provoked the reſentment of Edwy: he was ſoon inſtructed how dangerous were the enemies he had created: on the day of his coronation he had retired from the noiſy revelry of the table to taſte the pleaſures of love with Elgiva: the imperious Dunſtan burſt into the apartment, and with every opprobrious epithet that could be applied to her ſex, he thruſt the queen from her royal conſort: to avenge the inſult, Edwy accuſed Dunſtan of malverſation, in the treaſury, and baniſhed him the kingdom. But during his abſence, his party was not inactive; they exclaimed againſt the impiety of the king and queen; and, ſeconded by the people, they ſoon proceeded to more outrageous acts of violence. Archbiſhop Odo, with a band of ſoldiers, ſeized the queen, burned her face with an hot iron, and had her carried into Ireland. Edwy, incapable of reſiſting, was forced to acquieſce in a divorce. But fate continued to perſecute the unhappy Elgiva; ſhe had been cured of her wounds, and even the ſcars of them were obliterated, when, as ſhe was flying to the arms of Edwy, whom ſhe ſtill regarded as her huſband, ſhe was ſeized by Odo, who ſatiated his hatred to her by the moſt cruel death; ſhe was hamſtrung, and expired a few days after at Gloceſter, in the ſharpeſt torments.

The monks exulted in their barbarity, and encouraged Edgar, the younger brother of Edwy, to aſpire to the throne; they ſoon put him in poſſeſſion of Mercia, Northumberland, and Eaſt Anglia. Dunſtan returned to England, to ſupport him with his influence, and was inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury. The unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and purſued with unrelenting vengeance; but his death, which happened ſoon after, freed his enemies from all further inquietude, and gave Edgar peaceable poſſeſſion of the government.

The

The capacity of Edgar was diſtinguiſhed in the fortune of his reign; by his vigorous preparations for war, he enforced peace; he maintained a numerous army, and powerful navy, and awed equally the foreign and domeſtic Danes: the neighbouring ſovereigns, the king of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the Iſle of Man, of the Orknies, and of Ireland, were reduced to pay him ſubmiſſion; but the chief means by which he preſerved internal tranquillity, was his aſſiduous attention to Dunſtan and the monks. In a general council of the prelates and the heads of the religious orders, he harangued againſt the diſſolute lives of the ſecular clergy, the ſmallneſs of their tonſure, their gaming, hunting, dancing and ſinging, and more eſpecially their openly living with *concubines*; an expreſſion by which it was ſuppoſed he meant their *wives*. He urged Dunſtan to complete the work, which had been begun under the reign of Edred; and as their prelate wanted nothing to ſtimulate his ardour, it was not long before the monks prevailed and eſtabliſhed their new diſcipline in almoſt all the convents. A. D. 959, 975.

The patronage of Edgar was repaid by the praiſes of the monks; and he has not only been repreſented by them as a conſummate ſtateſman, and a great prince, but as a man of ſtrict virtue, and even a ſaint; yet chaſtity could not be reckoned amongſt his qualities; and his amours inſtruct us, with how bad a grace he could reprove the licentious lives of the ſecular clergy: he broke into a convent, carried of by force, and violated Editha, a nun; yet the only puniſhment that the grateful Dunſtan impoſed for this crime, was, not his parting from his miſtreſs, but abſtaining to wear his crown for ſeven years: At Andover, Edgar was ſtruck with the beauty of the daughter of a nobleman, in whoſe houſe he lodged: as he had no leiſure to employ in courtſhip, he demanded of the mother that the young lady might be allowed to paſs that very night with him. The mother, well acquainted with his impetuoſity, thought it would be eaſier, as well as

ſafer, to deceive than to refuſe him. She directed a waiting-maid to ſteal into the king's bed, after the company had retired to reſt; the dawn of light revealed the impoſture; but Edgar, well pleaſed with his companion, was far from reſenting the fraud; and Elfiede, ſuch was the name of the maid, became his favourite miſtreſs until his marriage with Elfrida.

Elfrida was daughter and heir of Olgar, earl of Devonſhire; and the court of England reſounded with the praiſes of her beauty. Edgar had determined, if he found her charms anſwerable to report, to marry her: he communicated his intentions to his favourite Athelwold, whom he deputed to bring him an account of her perſon. The fidelity of Athelwold was vanquiſhed by the beauty of Elfrida; and when he returned to his maſter, he aſſured him that Elfrida poſſeſſed no charms, which would not have been overlooked in a woman of inferior ſtation. He however remarked, that ſhe would be on the whole an advantageous match for him, and might by her birth and riches make him ſufficient compenſation for her homelineſs. Edgar, pleaſed to eſtabliſh his favourite's fortune, forwarded his ſucceſs by his recommendations to the parents of Elfrida, whoſe hand Athelwold ſoon obtained.

But the envy which ever purſues the favourite of the throne, ſpeedily informed Edgar of the truth. Before he avenged the treachery of Athelwold, he reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf, with his own eyes, of his guilt. He told him he intended to viſit his caſtle, and be introduced to his wife: the favourite, incapable of refuſing the honour, revealed the whole tranſaction to Elfrida, and conjured her to diſguiſe that beauty which had ſeduced him from his fidelity; but the ambitious fair was exaſperated at an artifice which had defrauded her of a crown. She appeared before Edgar in all her charms, and kindled in his boſom the paſſions of deſire and vengeance: he repreſſed, however, his emotions, until he had an opportunity in hunting, of ſtabbing Athelwold, and ſoon after reaped the harveſt of his guilt, by his marriage with Elfrida.

The

The reign of Edgar laſted ſixteen years, and is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves from England. He died in the thirty-third year of his age; and was ſucceeded by Edward, whom he had by his firſt marriage with the daughter of Earl Ordmer. It was in vain Elfrida attempted to raiſe to the throne her own ſon Etheldred, an infant of ſeven years. The pretenſions of Edward were ſupported by the principal nobility, and he was anointed and crowned by Dunſtan at Kingſton. He lived four years after his acceſſion; and his death alone was memorable and tragical: though his ſtep-mother had oppoſed his ſucceſſion, he had always ſhowed her marks of regard. In hunting he was led near Corfe-Caſtle in Dorſetſhire, where ſhe reſided; and paying her a viſit without attendants, he preſented her with the opportunity that ſhe had long wiſhed for; after he had mounted his horſe, he deſired ſome liquor to be brought him. While he was holding the cup to his head, a ſervant of Elfrida approached, and ſtabbed him behind; the prince ſet ſpurs to his horſe, but faint with blood, he fell from the ſaddle, and his foot being entangled in the ſtirrup, he was dragged along until he expired. His youth and innocence procured him the appellation of Martyr; nor could Elfrida ever recover the public opinion, by all her hypocriſy or remorſe. A. D. 975, 978.

The ſon of Elfrida reaped the advantage of his mother's crime; and at the age of eleven, Ethelred was placed on the throne of England; his reign was long and inglorious: the ſurname of *Unready* was the reproachful mark of his cowardice. The Danes reſumed their ravages; the Engliſh were betrayed by the cowardice or incapacity of their leaders; and the force which had been created by the genius of Alfred, diſſolved under the feeble adminiſtration of Ethelred; a ſhameful compoſition was made with Sweyn king of Denmark; the Engliſh monarch conſented to the diſgraceful badge of tribute: and as he was deſirous to draw cloſer his connection with the pirates of the North, he ſolicited A. D. 978.

and received in marriage Emma, ſiſter to Richard the ſecond duke of Normandy.

Amidſt the northern adventurers, Rollo, a petty prince of Denmark, by his valour and his abilities, had engaged the admiration of his countrymen, and excited the jealouſy of the Daniſh monarch. Diſpoſſeſſed by the treachery and ſuperior force of the latter, of his ſmall but independent principality, he had fled for ſafety to Scandinavia: he had attached to himſelf a motley band of Norwegians, Swedes, Friſians, and Danes, and had made an attempt on England near the end of the reign of Alfred; but finding no advantages could be gained over a people governed with ſo much prudence and vigour, he had turned his enterpriſes againſt France. During the reign of Charles the Simple, he obtained from that weak prince a grant of the province of Neuſtria, and part of Brittany, on the conditions that he ſhould become a chriſtian, ſhould eſpouſe the daughter of Charles, and do homage for his principality: but in the ceremony of inveſtiture, Rollo rejected with diſdain the ſervile indignity of proſtrating himſelf before, and kiſſing the feet of his ſovereign. One of his guards was accepted as his ſubſtitute: and the rude Norman, unpractiſed in the arts of court, toſſed the kingly foot with ſo much violence, as nearly to overturn the chair, and to endanger the neck of Charles.

With his principality Rollo aſſumed the title of duke of Normandy, and governed his new ſubjects with more equity and moderation than could have been expected, from the predatory life he had been engaged in: he tranſmitted his authority to his poſterity; and Richard the Second, whoſe ſiſter Emma, Ethelred had married, was the great-grandſon of Rollo, and the fourth duke of Normandy.

While their ſovereign courted the alliance, the Engliſh groaned beneath the rapacity and arrogance of the northern invaders; ſenſible of the ſuperiority of theſe hardy warriors, it had been the cuſtom of Athelſtan and Edgar to retain in their pay, bodies of Daniſh troops.

troops. Theſe mercenaries, by their arts and valour, had rendered themſelves ſo agreeable to the fair ſex, that they debauched the wives and daughters of the Engliſh; but what moſt provoked the inhabitants was, that inſtead of defending them againſt invaders, they were ever ready to join the foreign Danes: this animoſity inſpired Ethelred with the reſolution of maſſacring the Danes throughout his dominions. Secret orders were diſpatched to commence the execution every where on the ſame day; and ſo well were theſe orders executed, that the rage of the populace, ſanctioned by authority, and ſtimulated by example, diſtinguiſhed not between innocence and guilt, and ſpared neither ſex nor age. A. D. Nov. 20, 1002.

The authors of this barbarous policy were not ſuffered to exult long in the ſucceſs of it. Sweyn and his Danes, who wanted but a pretence for invading England, appeared off the weſtern coaſt to revenge the fate of their countrymen. Earl Hugh, a Norman, and governor of Exeter, betrayed that city into their hands: thence they extended their devaſtations within ſight of the walls of London. The calamities of the Engliſh were augmented by famine, and they conſented to purchaſe a precarious peace by the payment of 30,000 pounds. A.D. 1003, 1007.

The Danes received the money without diſcontinuing their ravages; a ſecond peace, which they ſold at the price of forty-eight thouſand pounds, was as ill obſerved; and new contributions were extorted with cruel diligence. The Engliſh nobility found no other reſource than ſwearing allegiance to Sweyn, and delivering him hoſtages for their fidelity. Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy, and the treachery of his own ſubjects, fled into Normandy, where he was received with generoſity, and where he had ſent before him Emma, and her two ſons Alfred and Edward. A. D. 1003, 1013.

The

A. D. 1014, 1016. The king had ſcarce arrived in Normandy before he was informed of the death of Sweyn; and the Engliſh prelates and nobles invited him to reſume the royal authority. But on his return they diſcovered that adverſity had not corrected his diſpoſition; and he diſplayed the ſame incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity. Canute, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sweyn, and no leſs terrible than his father, after ravaging the Eaſtern-coaſt, had burſt into the counties of Dorſet, Wilts, and Somerſet; he was oppoſed by Edmond, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelred, but the Engliſh ſoldiers demanded the preſence of their ſovereign; and diſappointed in that hope, they gradually retired from the camp. Edmond no longer able to keep the field, ſet out for London, which he was determined to defend to the laſt extremity; he found that capital in confuſion, from the death of the king, who had expired after the reign of thirty-five years. He left two ſons by his firſt marriage, Edmond who ſucceeded him, and Edwy who was murdered by Canute; and two more by his ſecond marriage, Alfred and Edward, who, with their mother Emma, immediately paſſed over into Normandy.

A. D. 1016, 1017. Edmond, who from his hardy valour attained the ſurname of *Ironſide*, was inferior in abilities only to the diſtreſs of the time. In two battles he encountered the Danes with ſkill and courage; but in both he was defeated or betrayed by the enmity or perfidy of Edric duke of Mercia. He was however ſtill formidable: and at Gloceſter prepared again to diſpute the field, when the Daniſh and Engliſh nobility, equally haraſſed, obliged their kings to ſubmit to a compromiſe, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. Canute reſerved to himſelf the Northern part, and relinquiſhed the Southern to Edmond. This prince ſurvived the treaty about a month, and was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices

of

of Edric, who thereby made way for the ſucceſſion of Canute the Dane, to the crown of England.

Canute immediately prepared to take advantage of the feeble years of Edwin and Edward, the infant ſons of Edmond. To cover however his injuſtice under plauſible pretences, before he ſeized their dominions, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the ſtates to fix the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. He here ſuborned ſome nobles to depoſe, that in the treaty of Gloceſter it had been verbally agreed, in caſe of Edmond's death, to name Canute ſucceſſor to his dominions, or tutor to his children; and this evidence, ſupported by the great power of Canute, determined the ſtates to veſt in him the government of the kingdom. Jealous of the two princes, yet unwilling to render himſelf odious, he ſent them abroad to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he deſired to free him by their death from all future anxiety. The Swede, too humane to comply with the requeſt, conveyed them to Solomon king of Hungary. The elder died without iſſue, but Edward the Younger married Agatha, the ſiſter-in-law of Solomon, and daughter of the emperor Henry the IId. by whom he had Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Chriſtina, who retired into a convent. A. D. 1017, 1035.

Canute governed England with vigour and ſeverity: he no ſooner found himſelf confirmed in the throne, than he put to death the nobles he could not rely on: amongſt theſe was the traitor Edric, who had preſumed to reproach him with his ſervices. But if his jealouſy was fatal, his juſtice was impartial. In the diſtribution of it he made no diſtinction between the Danes and Engliſh; he reſtored the Saxon cuſtoms, and gradually incorporated the victors with the vanquiſhed. Though the diſtance of the children of Edmond ſeemed to ſecure him from their enterpriſes, he dreaded the pretenſions of Alfred and Edward, who were ſupported by their uncle Richard duke of Normandy. To acquire the friendſhip of that prince, he paid his addreſſes to his ſiſter Emma, and the

widow

widow of Ethelred conſented to beſtow her hand on the implacable enemy of her huſband, on the promiſe that the children of their marriage ſhould ſucceed to the Engliſh crown.

The ambition of Canute was not ſatisfied with the conqueſt of England. After repelling the attacks of the king of Sweden, he invaded and ſubdued the kingdom of Norway. At leiſure from war, he caſt his view towards that future exiſtence, which it is ſo natural for the human mind, whether ſatiated by proſperity, or diſguſted with adverſity, to make the object of its attention. But inſtead of endeavouring to atone for the injuries he had committed by compenſation to the injured, it was in a pilgrimage to Rome, in building churches, and endowing monaſteries, that his penitence was diſplayed. One anecdote however diſtinguiſhes him ſuperior to the adulation ſo grateful to little minds; ſome of his flatterers exclaiming that every thing was poſſible to him, he ordered his chair to be placed on the ſea-ſhore while the tide was riſing; and as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. But when the ſea ſtill advanced towards him, and began to wet him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that every creature in the univerſe was feeble and impotent, and that power reſided with one Being alone, in whoſe hands were all the elements of nature, and who could ſay to the ocean, "*Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther.*"

The laſt memorable action of Canute, was his expedition againſt Malcolm king of Scotland. The latter had refuſed to acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal for Cumberland to the crown of England; but his obſtinacy yielded to the appearance of Canute on his frontiers at the head of a formidable army; and his grandſon and heir Malcolm, to whom he relinquiſhed Cumberland, ſubmitted to the ceremony of homage.

Four years after this enterpriſe, Canute expired at Shaftſbury. He had given his daughter in marriage

to the Engliſh earl Godwin, who had ſerved him with great ability in his war with Sweden. Of his two ſons by his firſt marriage, Sweyn had been crowned king of Norway, and Harold ſeized the throne of England; while Hardicanute, who was his iſſue by Emma, was left in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Denmark.

Though Harold founded his claim to the Engliſh throne on the will of his father, who was unwilling to leave a newly conquered kingdom in the hands of ſo young a prince as Hardicanute; it was a manifeſt violation of the treaty with the duke of Normandy, by which England was aſſigned to the iſſue of Canute by Emma. While the Danes ſupported Harold, the Engliſh, with earl Godwin, aſſerted the pretenſions of Hardicanute. A civil war was however prevented by a compromiſe; and it was agreed that Harold ſhould enjoy, together with London, all the provinces north of the Thames, while the poſſeſſion of the ſouth ſhould remain to Hardicanute; and till that prince ſhould appear to take poſſeſſion of his dominions, Emma fixed her reſidence at Wincheſter, and eſtabliſhed her authority over her ſon's ſhare of the partition. A. D. 1035, 1039.

This treaty delivered not Harold from the dread of competitors: the duke of Normandy was a minor; and Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Emma by Ethelred, had croſſed the ſea to viſit their mother at Wincheſter. Thence Alfred was invited by Harold to London; at the inſtigation of the tyrant, the unfortunate prince was attacked near Guildford by the vaſſals of earl Godwin: he was taken priſoner, his eyes were put out, and he was conducted to the monaſtery of Ely, where he died ſoon after. Alarmed at his fate, Edward and Emma fled to Normandy and Flanders; and Harold ſeized the dominions which had been aſſigned to his brother; but he enjoyed not long the fruits of his bloody policy; and four years after his acceſſion, he expired, little regretted by his ſubjects, and diſtinguiſhed only for his agility

agility in running, by which he had attained the ſurname of *Harefoot*.

A. D. 1039, 1041. Before the death of Harold, Hardicanute had aſſembled a fleet of ſixty ſhips to aſſert his pretenſions in arms: when informed that his brother was no more, he immediately ſet ſail for London, where he was received in triumph, and acknowledged king without oppoſition. To juſtify himſelf from participating in the crime of Harold, he invited into England, and entertained with regard, prince Edward; yet when the latter preferred an accuſation againſt Godwin as the accomplice in the murder of his brother Alfred, the king, influenced by the preſent of a galley with a gilt ſtern, rowed by fourſcore men, armed and clothed in the moſt coſtly manner, each wearing on his arm a gold bracelet weighing ſixteen ounces, ſuffered the accuſed to vindicate himſelf by his ſingle oath.

Hardicanute retained not long the affections of the Engliſh; he revived the tax of *Danegelt*, which conſiſted of a ſhilling on a hide, on all lands, and from its name was probably impoſed to purchaſe peace of, or to furniſh an armament, againſt the Danes. In ſeveral parts of England, eſpecially at Worceſter, the inhabitants reſiſted this odious tax: they were however obliged to ſubmit; and were delivered by the intemperance of their oppreſſor from the dread of his vengeance: at the nuptial of a Daniſh lord, which he had honoured with his preſence, Hardicanute expired, and preſented to the Engliſh a favourable opportunity of ſhaking off the Daniſh yoke.

A. D. 1041, 1066. The deſcendants of Edmond Ironſide were diſtant in Hungary; and as all delays might be dangerous, the vacant throne was offered to Edward, the ſon of Ethelred and Emma. His elevation might have been oppoſed by Godwin, whoſe extenſive influence in Weſſex, rendered him not more formidable than his numerous alliances and tried abilities: he could not forget that Edward had accuſed him of the murder of Alfred; but he was prevailed

on to lay aſide his reſentment; and he only ſtipulated, as a pledge of reconciliation, that the prince ſhould promiſe to marry his daughter Editha: to this Edward conſented, and, ſupported by the power of Godwin, was crowned king of England.

The popularity which Edward had enjoyed on his firſt acceſſion, was not impaired by his reſuming all grants of his immediate predeceſſors: his ſeverity towards his mother the queen dowager was more injurious to his reputation. He accuſed her of neglecting him and his brother during their adverſe fortune; he ſtripped her of her treaſures, and confined her in a monaſtery at Wincheſter; but the ſtories which charge her as maintaining a criminal correſpondence with the biſhop of Wincheſter, and which repreſent her as juſtifying herſelf by walking unhurt over burning plowſhares, may be regarded as the inventions of the monkiſh hiſtorians of that age.

The long reſidence of Edward in Normandy, had attached him to the manners and language of the natives; they repaired to his court in numbers, and were received with favour. Their influence ſoon grew diſguſting to the Engliſh; but above all, it excited the jealouſy of Godwin: that powerful nobleman, beſides being earl or duke of Weſſex, had the counties of Kent and Suſſex annexed to his government. His eldeſt ſon Sweyn poſſeſſed the ſame authority in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloceſter, and Hereford; and Harold, his ſecond ſon, was duke of Eaſt Anglia, and at the ſame time governor of Eſſex. His recent reconciliation with Edward was forgotten in freſh injuries. The king had indeed married his daughter; but the amiable qualities of Editha had never acquired the affection of her huſband: it is even pretended that Edward abſtained from all commerce of love with her. And ſuch a forbearance, whether ariſing from frigidity or reſentment, though it obtained for the prince, from the monkiſh hiſtorians, the appellation of *ſaint and confeſſor*, could not be grateful to Godwin.

The

The influence of the Normans was the popular pretence for the diſaffection of Godwin. The inſolence of one of the attendants of Stephen, count of Bologne, had provoked a tumult at Dover, from which the count himſelf with difficulty eſcaped. He complained to Edward; and Godwin, in whoſe government Dover lay, was ordered by the king to repair thither and puniſh the inhabitants. He refuſed obedience; threw the blame of the riot on the count of Bologne; and under pretence of repreſſing ſome diſorders on the Welch frontier, he aſſembled an army, and preſſed forward to ſeize the king at Gloceſter. While Edward affected to negociate, he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, two powerful noblemen, jealous of Godwin's greatneſs. Theſe haſtened with their followers to protect their ſovereign; whoſe forces by their acceſſion became ſo numerous, that he ventured to take the field; and marching to London, ſummoned a council to judge of the rebellion of Godwin and his ſons. Godwin demanded hoſtages for his ſafety; but theſe were refuſed: and finding himſelf, from the deſertion of his troops, incapable of preſent reſiſtance, he fled to Flanders, while his ſon Harold repaired to Ireland.

From Flanders the intrigues of Godwin were extended to England; he was ſupported by numerous alliances foreign and domeſtic. The earl of Flanders permitted him to prepare a fleet in his harbours, with which he ſailed for England: he was repelled in an attempt to land at Sandwich; but he gained the Iſle of Wight, and was there joined by Harold with a conſiderable ſquadron, which that nobleman had collected in Ireland. He entered the Thames, appeared before London, and proclaimed, that his only object was to obtain juſtice for himſelf and his family, and to reſcue his country from the tyranny of foreigners. Edward, in the full confidence of ſecurity, had diſbanded his troops, and was obliged to hearken to terms of accommodation; a new reconciliation took place;

the

the moſt obnoxious of the Normans were baniſhed; Godwin gave hoſtages for his future obedience; and the king, ſenſible that he had not ſufficient power to ſecure thoſe hoſtages in England, ſent them over to his kinſman the duke of Normandy.

Godwin's death, which happened ſoon after, while he was ſitting at table with the king, devolved his government of Weſſex, Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, with his office of ſteward of the houſehold, on his ſon Harold, who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was ſuperior to him in addreſs and virtue. By a modeſt and gentle demeanor, he ſoftened the hatred of Edward, and gained every day new partiſans by his bounty and affability; by the death of Alger, duke of Mercia, and of Siward, duke of Northumberland, he was delivered from two powerful rivals. The eldeſt ſon of Siward had fallen in a ſucceſsful action with Macbeth, the uſurper of Scotland; his ſecond ſon Waltheof was too young to be intruſted with the adminiſtration of Northumberland; and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for his own brother Toſti.

Worn out with cares and infirmities, Edward having no iſſue himſelf, began to think of appointing a ſucceſſor to his kingdom. He invited from Hungary his nephew Edward, the only remaining heir of the Saxon line. But that prince expired ſoon after his arrival with his children. The youth and inexperience of his ſon Edgar Atheling, diverted from him the thoughts of Edward, who, dreading leſt on his death, Harold might avail himſelf of his influence and authority to uſurp the crown, at laſt fixed his choice on his kinſman William of Normandy.

This famous prince was natural ſon of Robert duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaiſe. The illegitimacy of his birth had not prevented him from being acknowledged by the Normans as their duke; his father died while he was a minor; but no ſooner did he come to maturity, than his qualities in the field and the cabinet were the admiration

of his friends, and the terror of his enemies. He had ſcarcely eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his own dominions than he viſited England; he arrived at the juncture when Godwin was baniſhed; and he was received in a manner ſuitable to the reputation he had acquired, and the obligations which Edward owed to his family. On his return he was informed of the intention of the king to adopt him as his ſucceſſor; and though Edward, fickle and irreſolute, afterwards invited the deſcendants of his brother from Hungary, the death of his nephew, and the inexperience of young Edgar, made him ſecretly reſume his reſolution in favour of the duke of Normandy.

Harold in the mean time rapidly increaſed in power and popularity; but in his views on the throne he was embarraſſed by his apprehenſions for thoſe hoſtages whom Godwin had given for his good behaviour: he extorted the king's conſent to their releaſe; and for that purpoſe, as he was ignorant William was his competitor, he immediately proceeded with a numerous train on his journey to Normandy. A tempeſt drove him on the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu, who detained him as his priſoner. Harold however found means to acquaint the duke of Normandy with his ſituation; and William immediately perceived the importance of the incident: could he gain Harold, his way to the throne of England would be open; he demanded therefore his liberty of Guy, who preſumed not to refuſe, and delivered the earl into the hands of his rival. William received him with every demonſtration of reſpect; and took an opportunity of diſcloſing to him the ſecret of his pretenſions to the crown of England; he deſired his aſſiſtance; he offered him one of his daughters in marriage; and promiſed, in caſe of ſucceſs, to advance his fortune ſtill to a greater height. Harold heard him with ſurpriſe; but anxious to recover his own liberty, as well as that of his brother and nephew, he feigned a compliance; he even took a ſolemn oath to ſupport his claim; and

was

was diſmiſſed with all the marks of a mutual confidence by William.

When Harold found himſelf at liberty, his ambition ſuggeſted to him ſufficient caſuiſtry to juſtify the violation of an oath, which had been extorted from him by fear; he continued therefore ſtill to court popularity, and to inflame the hatred of the Engliſh to the Normans; and fortune about this time threw two incidents in his way, which ſerved to increaſe the reputation he had already attained.

Griffith, prince of Wales had, by his incurſions on the Weſtern borders, rendered his name terrible to the Engliſh. To ſuppreſs this dangerous enemy, Harold determined to march againſt him in perſon; he penetrated amidſt their mountains, and reduced the Welch to ſuch diſtreſs, that to avert their total deſtruction, they ſacrificed their prince, whoſe head they cut off, and ſent to Harold; and were content to receive as their ſovereign two Welch noblemen, whom Edward appointed to rule over them.

The other incident was not leſs honourable to Harold: Toſti his brother had oppreſſed Northumberland in ſuch a manner that the inhabitants had riſen in arms. Morcar and Edwin, two brothers, and grandſons to the duke of Mercia, were their leaders; Harold advanced with a formidable army to reduce them; but before the ſignal for battle was given, Morcar, ſenſible of the generous diſpoſition of his adverſary, requeſted a conference, and repreſented in ſuch ſtrong terms the cruelty and rapacity of Toſti, that Harold refuſed to be the inſtrument of injuſtice; and abandoning his brother's cauſe, he returned to Edward, whom he perſuaded to pardon the Northumbrians, and to transfer the government to Morcar; he even married the ſiſter of that nobleman; and by his intereſt procured Edwin, the younger brother, to be appointed governor of Mercia.

The marriage of Harold proved to William, that he could no longer depend on the oath of the former, who now openly aſpired to the ſucceſſion; while

Edward, feeble and irreſolute, was afraid to declare in favour of the duke of Normandy. In this ſtate of uncertainty, he was ſurpriſed by death in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign; he was the laſt of the Saxon princes, and the firſt king of England who pretended to cure, by his touch, the king's-evil: a practice that was long continued by his ſucceſſors, and has been dropped only by the preſent royal family.

A. D. 1066. On the death of Edward, Harold aſceended the throne with little difficulty. Without waiting for the regular determination of the ſtates, he was crowned and anointed king by Aldred, archbiſhop of York. The Engliſh, prepoſſeſſed in his favour, exhibited in his elevation the moſt unequivocal marks of approbation, but the duke of Normandy received the intelligence with open indignation. He ſent an embaſſy to England upbraiding him with his breach of faith, and ſummoning him to reſign the poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Harold replied to the Norman ambaſſadors, that the oath he had taken was void, as extorted by violence; that he had obtained the crown from the unanimous ſuffrages of the people; and that if the duke made any attempts by force of arms, he ſhould experience the ſtrength of an united nation, conducted by a prince who was determined that the ſame moment ſhould put a period to his life and his government.

William was not diſcouraged by the anſwer: he conſidered that England had enjoyed a profound tranquillity for near fifty years; that her inhabitants were unuſed to arms; her towns without fortifications; and that his rival was yet ſcarcely eſtabliſhed on the throne. On the contrary, the Normans were at the higheſt pitch of military glory; they had acquired the aſcendant over the Italians and the Greeks, the Germans, and the Saracens; and had laid the foundation of the opulent kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. The ſituation of Europe was favourable to his views; a military ſpirit was univerſally diffuſed throughout it; the genius

genius of chivalry was in its vigour; and a race of daring adventurers, impatient of peace and repoſe, were eager to embark in any dangerous enterpriſe.

With ſuch warriors, the court of the duke of Normandy was crouded; and no ſooner had he proclaimed his intention of attempting the conqueſt of England, than he found leſs difficulty in compleating his levies, than in rejecting thoſe who were deſirous of ſerving under him. The count of Brittany, with five thouſand of his ſubjects, marched beneath his banner; the counts of Anjou and Flanders encouraged their vaſſals to engage in the expedition. The latter was regent of France during the minority of Philip the Firſt; and ſecretly facilitated the views of William; while the emperor Henry the Fourth promiſed to guarantee his Norman dominion during his abſence.

But in that ſuperſtitious age, the moſt important ally that William gained, was the Roman pontiff; the pretended ſucceſſor of St. Peter began now openly to interpoſe in the quarrels of the greateſt monarchs: it would have been a ſufficient motive for Alexander the Second, to have eſpouſed the party of William, that he alone had made an appeal to his tribunal; but the pope foreſaw other advantages; England had hitherto maintained a conſiderable independence in its eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration; Alexander hoped that the Normans, if ſucceſsful, would import into that country a more devoted reverence for the holy ſee: with this view he pronounced Harold a perjured uſurper; and ſanctioned the pretenſions of William, by the preſent of a conſecrated banner, and a ring which incloſed one of St. Peter's hairs.

A fleet of 3000 veſſels had been aſſembled by the duke of Normandy, to tranſport an army of 60,000, which he had ſelected from the numbers who courted his ſervice. Amongſt theſe were found the high names of the moſt illuſtrious nobles of Normandy, France, Brittany, and Flanders; and to theſe William held up the ſpoils of England as the prize of their

valour, and pointed to the oppoſite ſhore on which they were to erect their trophies, and fix their eſtabliſhments.

Though Harold could not be ignorant of the preparations of William, it was the invaſion of his brother Toſti that firſt ſummoned him to the field. That haughty nobleman had never forgiven the juſtice which had ſtripped him of the government of Northumberland. He had fled to Flanders; and thence, in concert with Helfager king of Norway, he determined to invade England. With ſixty ſail he joined in the Humber the Norwegian fleet, which conſiſted of three hundred veſſels; and he defeated Morcar, earl of Northumberland, and Edwin earl of Mercia, who had ventured to give him battle.

Harold was no ſooner appriſed of the danger, than, deſirous of impreſſing his new ſubjects with proof of his valour, he rapidly advanced to encounter the invaders; as he marched along, his army was ſwelled by numbers, whom his popularity allured to his ſtandard; and at Standford he engaged the enemy. His victory was deciſive; both Helfager and Toſti periſhed in the action; and the Norwegian fleet fell into the hands of the conqueror.

He had ſcarcely time to rejoice in his ſucceſs before he was informed that the duke of Normandy was landed with a great army in the ſouth of England. After ſtruggling a long time with contrary winds, a favourable gale had ſprung up on the eve of St. Michael, the tutelar ſaint of Normandy; and the ſoldiers, who began to deſpond, fancying they ſaw the hand of heaven in this circumſtance, reſumed their alacrity. Miſled by the information that William had laid aſide his preparations, Harold had diſmiſſed his fleet, and the Normans, without meeting any obſtacle, landed at Pevenſey in Suſſex. The duke himſelf, as he leaped on ſhore, happened to ſtumble, and fell; but had the preſence of mind to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had taken poſſeſſion of the country.

The

The victory which Harold had obtained at Standford, though highly honourable, may be regarded as the immediate cauſe of his ruin. He had loſt in the action many of his beſt officers, and braveſt ſoldiers; and numbers of the ſurvivors had been diſguſted by the injudicious œconomy with which he refuſed to diſtribute amongſt them the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. The reinforcements he drew from London, ill ſupplied the place of theſe veterans. He haſtened however by forced marches to meet his rival: nor would he liſten to the counſels of his brother Gurth, a man of bravery and conduct, who adviſed him to content himſelf with haraſſing the enemy, who, during the diſtreſs of a winter campaign, would probably offer to them an eaſy and bloodleſs victory. If he yet was determined on battle, he intreated him not to expoſe his own perſon, but reſerve ſome reſource to the independence of the kingdom; and he reminded him, that having been obliged to take a ſolemn oath to ſupport the pretenſions of the duke of Normandy, the ſoldiers would fight with more alacrity under a leader not bound by ſuch ſacred ties.

Harold was deaf to all his remonſtrances; and impatient of the event, ſoon appeared in ſight of the enemy, who had pitched their camp at Haſtings. So confident did he ſeem of ſucceſs, that his only offer to William was a ſum of money, if he would quit the kingdom; the duke of Normandy in return required him to reſign the crown, or to hold it of him in fealty, or to ſubmit their cauſe to the pope, or to the chance of ſingle combat: That the god of battle ſhould ſoon be the arbiter of all their differences, was the final reply of Harold.

Both parties immediately prepared for action; but the night previous to it was differently ſpent in the hoſtile camps; the Engliſh indulged in riot and jollity; the Normans were occupied in the duties of religion. On the morning the duke called together his principal officers: he repreſented to them, that the whole fortune of the war depended on their ſwords, and

would be decided in a ſingle action. That if they remitted in the leaſt their wonted proweſs, an enraged enemy hung upon their rear, the ſea met them in their retreat, and an ignominious death was the certain puniſhment of their imprudent cowardice. That from the valour of his army, and the guilt of his competitor, he had juſt cauſe to hope for the favour of the Almighty; and that the perjured uſurper, anathematized by the ſovereign pontiff, and conſcious of his own breach of faith, would be ſtruck with terror on their appearance, and would prognoſticate to himſelf, that fate which his multiplied crimes had ſo juſtly merited. After this harangue, he ordered the ſignal of battle to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and ſinging the hymn, or ſong of Roland, advanced in order and with alacrity towards the Engliſh.

Harold had ſeized the advantage of a riſing ground, and having ſecured his flanks with trenches, he reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive, and to avoid all action with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentiſh men were placed in the van, a poſt which they always claimed as their due. The Londoners guarded the ſtandard; and the king himſelf, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, diſmounting, placed himſelf at the head of his infantry, and expreſſed his reſolution to conquer or to die. The firſt attack of the Normans was deſperate, but was received with equal valour by the Engliſh; and the former began to retreat, when William haſtened to their ſupport with a ſelect band. His preſence reſtored the action, and the Engliſh in their return were obliged to retire. They rallied again, aſſiſted by the advantage of the ground; and William, to gain the victory, had recourſe to a ſtratagem which, had it failed, muſt have ended in his total ruin. He commanded his troops to allure the enemy from their ground, by the appearance of flight. The Engliſh followed with precipitation: the Normans faced upon them in the plain, and drove them back with conſiderable ſlaughter. The artifice was a ſecond time repeated

repeated with the ſame ſucceſs; yet a great body of the Engliſh ſtill maintained themſelves in firm array, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the victory. While they were galled by the Norman archers behind, they were attacked by the heavy armed infantry in front: Harold himſelf was ſlain by an arrow, as he combated with great bravery at the head of his men. His two brothers ſhared the ſame fate; the Engliſh, diſcouraged by the fall of thoſe princes, fled on all ſides; and were chiefly ſaved from the purſuers by the darkneſs of the night.

The obſtinacy with which the Engliſh had maintained the conflict from morning to ſunſet, is approved in the loſs of the victors; fifteen thouſand Normans fell; and William in the action had three horſes killed under him. But the victory, however dearly purchaſed, was deciſive; the body of Harold was brought to William, and was generouſly reſtored without ranſom to his mother; and no ſooner had the Normans returned thanks to heaven for their ſucceſs, than their prince preſſed forwards to improve his advantage, before the Engliſh could recover from their diſmay and diſtraction.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

State of England at the Conqueſt.—Succeſſion of Kings.—The Wittenagemot.—Power of the Ariſtocracy.—The ſeveral orders of Men.—Courts of Juſtice.—Criminal Law.—Rules of Proof.—Puniſhments.—Value of Money.—Revenue of the King.—Military Force.—Conſequences of the Battle of Haſtings.—Submiſſion of the Engliſh.—Settlement of the Government.—King's return to Normandy.—Diſcontents of the Engliſh—Their inſurrections.—Rigours of the Norman Government.—New Inſurrections.—New Rigours of Government.—Introduction of the feudal Law.—Innovation in eccleſiaſtical Government.—Inſurrection of the Norman Barons.—Diſpute about Inveſtitures.—Revolt of Prince Robert.—Domeſday Book.—The New Foreſt.—War with France.—Death—and character of William the Conqueror.

THE kingdom which William acquired in the victorious field of Haſtings, had received from the arms, the laws and language of the Saxons: the manners and cuſtoms of England had been ſupplanted by thoſe of Germany; the new inhabitants breathed the ſame ſpirit of independence that had characteriſed them in the North; the king, ſo far from being inveſted with arbitrary power, was only regarded as the firſt among the citizens; the crown was conſidered

ed as confined to one family; but the people choſe their ſovereign from that family, as convenience or neceſſity preſcribed: a minor was frequently paſſed over to make room for a more diſtant kinſman of maturer age; and the monarchy could neither, ſtrictly ſpeaking, be conſidered as hereditary or elective.

The authority of the monarch was tempered by that of the *Wittenagemot*, or aſſembly of Wiſe Men, whoſe conſent was requiſite for enacting laws, and for ratifying the chief acts of adminiſtration. The Wittenagemot appears to have been compoſed of the biſhops, the abbots, and the aldermen or governors of counties, who after the Daniſh times were often called earls; though from the low ſtate of the boroughs it is ſcarce probable they were allowed repreſentatives, yet the judges ſeem to have been admitted into this council, together with the principal proprietors of land; and there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that forty hydes, or between four and five thouſand acres, entitled the poſſeſſor, without any form of election, to take his ſeat in the national aſſembly; nor ought we hence to imagine, that it was ſwelled into an unwieldy multitude; the landed property was probably in few hands during the Saxon times; the invaſions of the Danes had compelled each county to arm under the conduct of its own nobility and its magiſtrates; and for the ſame reaſon that a general war, managed by the united efforts of the whole ſtate, commonly augments the power of the crown, thoſe private inroads turned to the advantage of the aldermen and earls.

Amongſt a military and turbulent people, great oppreſſion and violence muſt have prevailed. Theſe diſorders were increaſed by, and in their turn contributed to increaſe, the power of the ariſtocracy. Men, not daring to rely on the guardianſhip of the laws, devoted themſelves to the ſervice of ſome chieftain, whoſe orders they followed even to the diſturbance of the government, and who afforded them, in return, protection from any inſults or injuſtice by ſtrangers. Hence almoſt all the inhabitants, even of towns, had placed

placed themſelves under the clientſhip of ſome particular nobleman, whoſe patronage they purchaſed by annual payments, and to whom they were ſuppoſed ſo fully to belong, that in caſe of the murder of a client, though a freeman, his murderer was obliged to pay a fine to his patron as a compenſation for his loſs, in the ſame manner as if he had been a ſlave.

Men who were of a conſiderable rank, but not powerful enough each to ſupport themſelves by their own independent authority, entered into formal confederacies with each other, and compoſed a kind of ſeparate community, which rendered itſelf formidable to all aggreſſors. They mutually bound themſelves to protect the perſons, and revenge the injuries of their aſſociates; and the want of ſtrength in the civil union, was thus ſupplied by private engagements.

The Anglo Saxons may be conſidered as divided into three ranks of men: the nobles, the free, and the ſlaves. The nobles were called thanes, and were of two kinds; the king's thanes, and the leſſer thanes. The latter ſeem to have been dependent on the former, and to have received lands for which they paid rent-ſervices, or attendance in peace and war. We know of no title which raiſed any one to the rank of thane, except noble birth and the poſſeſſion of land; and as there were no middle ranks of men who could gradually mix with their ſuperiors, the nobility remained long diſtinct. Two ſtatutes, indeed, made by Athelſtan, promiſed to ſwell that order with the acceſſion of the adventurous and induſtrious. The firſt entitled any merchant who had made three long voyages on his own account, to the quality of thane; and a ſecond extended the ſame quality to an huſbandman, who had been able to purchaſe five hydes of land, and had a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell; but theſe opportunities muſt have been few; nor could any law prevent the high-born thanes from entertaining an invincible contempt for thoſe legal and factitious ones.

The lower rank of freemen were denominated Ceorles among the Saxons, and were chiefly employed

in

in huſbandry; they cultivated the farms of the nobility or thanes, for which they paid rent, and they ſeem to have been removable at pleaſure. But the moſt numerous rank in the community were the ſlaves or *villains*, who were the property of their lords, and were conſequently incapable of poſſeſſing any property themſelves: the far greater part of the land was cultivated by them; and their unhappy condition was moderated by ſeveral humane regulations; the power of a maſter was not unlimited; if a man beat out his ſlave's eyes or teeth, the ſlave recovered his liberty; and if he killed him, he was ſubject to a fine to the king.

The great lords and abbots, among the Anglo-Saxons, poſſeſſed a criminal juriſdiction within their territories, and could puniſh, without apppeal, any thieves or robbers whom they caught there: this inſtitution muſt have had a very contrary effect to that which was intended, and muſt have procured robbers a ſure protection on the lands of ſuch noblemen as did not ſincerely mean to diſcourage crimes and violence; and that nobles of this deſcription exiſted, we need not doubt, ſince, in the ſecurity provided by the Saxon laws to all members of the Wittenagemot, both going and returning, an exception was made *of thoſe who were notorious thieves and robbers.*

The power of the nobles was, however, in ſome meaſure reſtrained by the adminiſtration of juſtice, by the courts of decennary, the hundred, and the county. In the county courts, all freeholders aſſembled twice a year, and received appeals from the inferior courts: the cauſe was decided without much pleading or delay, by a majority of voices. A third of the fines levied in theſe courts, for moſt puniſhments were pecuniary, went to the alderman, and two thirds to the king, and formed no inconſiderable part of his revenue.

The proofs of guilt, and the puniſhments inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon courts of judicature were equally ſingular. The accuſed was allowed to clear himſelf by his own oath, and the concurring oaths of a number

of

of his friends. Theſe were called *compurgators*, and were in ſome inſtances multiplied to the number of three hundred. The practice alſo of ſingle combat was employed by moſt nations on the continent, as a remedy againſt falſe evidence: it became at laſt a ſpecies of juriſprudence; and the caſes were determined by law, in which the party might challenge his adverſary, or the witneſſes, or the judge himſelf. When any controverſy about a fact became too intricate for the judges, they had recourſe to the judgment of God, that is, to Fortune. One mode of deciſion was by the croſs; two pieces of wood, one marked with the ſign of the croſs, were placed by the accuſed on the altar; ſome unexperienced youth took up one of the pieces of wood, and if it happened to be that on which the figure of the croſs was impreſſed, the accuſed was pronounced innocent. Another method was the ordeal; it was practiſed either by boiling water, or red-hot iron; the former was appropriated to the common people, the latter to the nobility. The perſon accuſed took up a ſtone ſunk in the water, or carried the iron to a certain diſtance; and if at the end of three days his hand appeared uninjured, he was pronounced innocent. The trial by cold water was difficult; the perſon accuſed was thrown into conſecrated water; if he ſwam he was guilty, if he ſunk he was innocent.

Such were the general proofs of guilt; nor did they in their ſingularity exceed the puniſhment of it. Among the barbarians of Germany, if any man was injured or murdered, his neareſt kinſmen or moſt intimate friends, deemed themſelves bound in honour to avenge it. The magiſtrate however could interpoſe and oblige the injured perſon, or, if his friends, to accept a compenſation: this was commonly paid in cattle, and ſatisfied the pride of the offended family, by the ſubmiſſion or loſs of the aggreſſor. After the Germans had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Roman empire, they gradually refined their criminal juſtice. The magiſtrate, whoſe office it was to guard the pub-

lic

lic peace, conceiving himſelf injured by every injury done to the people, beſides the compenſation to the perſon who ſuffered, he thought himſelf entitled to exact a fine as an atonement for the breach of the public tranquillity: the idea was willingly received both by the king and the people; and the numerous fines which were levied, augmented the revenue of the ſovereign. By the laws of the Angles the price of the king's head, for ſo far was the monarch on a level with his ſubjects, was fixed at 30,000 thrimſas, near 1300 pounds of our preſent money; the price of the prince's head was 15,000 thrimſas; that of a biſhop or alderman's, 8000; a ſheriff's, 4000; a thane or clergyman's, 2000; a Ceorle's, 266. And ſuch was the reſpect of that age for eccleſiaſtics, that by the laws of Kent, the price of the archbiſhop's head was higher than that of the king's. The price of all kind of wounds was likewiſe fixed by the Saxon laws; a wound of an inch long under the hair, was paid with one ſhilling; one of like ſize in the face, two ſhillings; thirty ſhillings was the compenſation for the loſs of an ear, and thus in proportion; nor does there ſeem a diſtinction to have been made according to the dignity of the perſon.

The Saxon pound, as likewiſe that which was coined for ſome centuries after the conqueſt, was near three times the weight of our preſent money. There were forty-eight ſhillings in the pound, and five in a ſhilling; conſequently a Saxon ſhilling was near a fifth heavier than ours, and a Saxon penny near three times as heavy. A ſheep by the laws of Athelſtan was eſtimated at a ſhilling; that is, fifteen-pence of our money. An ox was computed at ſix times the value of a ſheep; a cow at four. A horſe was valued at about thirty-ſix ſhillings of our money; a mare at a third leſs. Between the years 900 and 1000, Ednoth bought a hyde of land for about 118 ſhillings of our money, which was little more than a ſhilling an acre, and appears to have been the uſual price: the tenants of Shireburn were obliged, at their choice, to pay either

ſix

ſix pence or four hens. On the whole, when we combine the change in the weight of the pound, and in the modern value of the precious metals for their greater plenty, we may conceive every ſum of money mentioned by hiſtorians at the conqueſt, and for ſome reigns after that period, as if it were multiplied more than an hundred fold above a ſum of the ſame denomination at preſent.

The revenue of the king ſeems to have conſiſted chiefly in his demeſnes, which were large; and in the tolls and impoſts, which he probably levied at diſcretion on the boroughs and ſea-ports that lay within his demeſnes. He could not alienate any part of the crown lands without the conſent of the ſtates. Danegelt was a tax of a ſhilling a hide impoſed by the ſtates, either for payment of the ſums exacted by the Danes, or for putting the kingdom into a ſtate of defence againſt thoſe invaders.

The trouble and expence of defending the ſtate in England lay equally upon all the land; and it was uſual for every five hides to equip a man for the ſervice. The *trinoda neceſſitas*, as it was called, or the burthen of military expeditions, of repairing highways, and of building and ſupporting bridges, was inſeparable from landed property, even though it belonged to the church or monaſtery, unleſs exempted by a particular charter. The huſbandmen were provided with arms, and were obliged to take their turn in military duty. There were computed to be 243,600 hides in England; conſequently the ordinary military force of the kingdom conſiſted of 48,720 men; though no doubt, on extraordinary occaſions, as the king and nobility had military tenants, they far exceeded that number.

A.D. 1066, 1027. But in the diſaſtrous field of Haſtings, their ſtrength had been broken; the death of their king, with the ſlaughter of his braveſt warriors, had overwhelmed the Engliſh with conſternation: the recent ſubjection to the Danes had extinguiſhed their natural pride; Edgar Atheling, the

the only heir of the Saxon line, they had been accuſtomed to regard as unfit to govern, even in times of order and tranquillity; though the potent earls, Edwin and Morcar, who had fled with the remains of the vanquiſhed army to London, had proclaimed Edgar, they ſoon found it was impoſſible to arm the people in his ſupport. After poſſeſſing himſelf of Dover, William rapidly advanced towards the capital to improve his victory; his enterpriſe avowed and hallowed by the pope, was inſiſted on as a reaſon for general ſubmiſſion; the repulſe which a body of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horſe, renewed the terror of the citizens; Edgar and Morcar had retired with their troops into their own provinces; and the people unanimouſly diſpoſed themſelves to yield to the conqueror. Before William came in ſight of London, all the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himſelf, entered his camp, and requeſted him to mount the throne, declaring, as they had always been ruled by regal power, they deſired to follow, in this inſtance, the example of their anceſtors, and knew of no one more worthy than himſelf to hold the reins of government.

Though William feigned to heſitate, and wiſhed to obtain a more formal conſent of the Engliſh nation, he dreaded the danger of delay, and accepted of the crown which was tendered him. In Weſtminſter Abbey he was conſecrated by Aldred, archbiſhop of York. The moſt conſiderable of the nobility, both Engliſh and Norman, attended him on this occaſion; and though Edwin and Morcar were not preſent at the ceremony, they ſoon after ſubmitted, ſwore fealty to their new ſovereign, and were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and dignities.

Thus by a pretended deſtination of king Edward, by an irregular election of the people, but ſtill more by force of arms, William ſeated himſelf on the Engliſh throne. He gratified his followers by the diſtribution of the treaſures of Harold: by the moſt liberal donations to churches and monaſteries, he ex-

preſſed his gratitude to the eccleſiaſtical order, who, influenced by the pope, had embraced his party with zeal; he introduced into England that ſtrict execution of juſtice, for which his adminiſtration had been celebrated in Normandy; he reſtrained by ſevere diſcipline the inſolence of his troops; he appeared ſolicitous to unite the Normans and the Engliſh by intermarriages and alliances; he confirmed the liberties and communities of London, and the other cities of England; and ſeemed deſirous of replacing every thing on the ancient eſtabliſhment. But amidſt this apparent confidence, he took care to keep poſſeſſion of the ſword: he built citadels in London, Wincheſter, Hereford, and the towns beſt ſituated for commanding the kingdom; he quartered Norman ſoldiers in all of them, and left no where any power able to reſiſt or oppoſe him.

By this mixture of vigour and lenity, he had ſo ſoothed the minds of the Engliſh, that he thought he might ſafely reviſit his native country, and enjoy the congratulations of his ancient ſubjects. He left the adminiſtration in the hands of his uterine brother Odo, biſhop of Baieux, and of William Fitz-Oſborne: that their authority might be leſs expoſed to danger, he carried over with him the chief of the Engliſh nobles, who, while they ſerved to grace his court by their magnificence, were in reality hoſtages for the fidelity of the nation: to ingratiate themſelves with their new ſovereign, they in Normandy vied with each other in equipages and entertainments; but though during the reſidence of William at Tercamp every thing bore the exterior of feſtivity, the Engliſh nobles derived little ſatisfaction from treats, where they conſidered themſelves led in triumph by the oſtentatious conqueror.

In England, affairs took ſtill a worſe turn during the abſence of the ſovereign. It is probable, the Normans, deſpiſing a people who had ſo eaſily ſubmitted to the yoke, and envying their riches, were deſirous of provoking them to rebellion. Their arrogance:

rogance multiplied diſcontents and complaints every where; ſecret conſpiracies were entered into againſt the government; the inhabitants of Kent, who had firſt ſubmitted to the conqueror, were the firſt who attempted to throw off his yoke, and encouraged by Euſtace count of Bologne, who had been alſo diſguſted by the Normans, made an unſucceſsful attempt on Dover. Edric, the foreſter, whoſe poſſeſſions lay on the banks of the Severn, provoked at the depredations of ſome Norman captains in his neighbourhood, formed an alliance with Blethyn and Rowallen, two Welch princes, and endeavoured to repel force by force: the diſaffection of the Engliſh daily increaſed; a ſecret project was entertained to perpetrate a maſſacre of the Normans like that which had been formerly executed upon the Danes; and the quarrel became ſo general and natural, that the vaſſals of earl Coxo having deſired him to head them in an inſurrection, and finding him reſolute in maintaining his fidelity to William, put him to death, as a traitor to his country.

The return of the king diſconcerted the plans of the conſpirators, many of whom fled or concealed themſelves, and enriched with their ſequeſtered eſtates, the Normans. Though highly irritated againſt the Engliſh, William ſtill preſerved the appearance of juſtice in his oppreſſions; he reſtored to their inheritance ſuch as had been arbitrarily expelled during his abſence: but he ſeized the opportunity of impoſing the tax of Danegelt on the people.

This tax rendered his government more odious; the inhabitants of Exeter roſe in arms; the people of Devonſhire and Cornwall followed their example; but Exeter was terrified into ſubmiſſion by the preſence of William himſelf: a citadel was erected to reſtrain in future their levity; and Devonſhire and Cornwall implored the clemency of their ſovereign, when a new and more formidable inſurrection in the North excited the general attention, and ſeemed to threaten more important conſequences. Edwin and Morcar appeared at the head of it; and were encouraged by

the aſſurance of ſupport from their nephew Blethyn prince of North Wales, from Malcolm king of Scotland, and from Sweyn king of Denmark. The breaſt of Edwin was inflamed with private as well as public wrongs, and he accuſed William of having broken his promiſe of beſtowing on him his daughter in marriage. Before the earls however could receive the foreign ſuccours they expected, they were ſurpriſed by the appearance of the king, who knew the importance of celerity. As they were incapable of reſiſtance, they condeſcended to ſue for mercy; but though William pardoned the chiefs, he ſeized and beſtowed on his Norman adherents the lands of their followers; and the numerous colonies of foreigners, which he eſtabliſhed in the North, left Edwin and Morcar deſtitute of any real power, and dependent on his wife.

The Engliſh were now ſenſible that their final deſtruction was intended; they foreſaw that the king was determined to rely on the ſupport and affection of foreigners, and that new forfeitures would be the reſult of this plan of adminiſtration. Impreſſed with this diſmal proſpect, many fled into foreign countries: Edgar Atheling himſelf, dreading the inſidious careſſes of William, eſcaped with his ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtine into Scotland. Some few, however, ſtill hoped to acquire ſecurity from arms: from the retreat which they had ſought in Ireland after the diſaſtrous battle of Haſtings, Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, paſſed into England; they landed in Devonſhire, but were repulſed and obliged to return, by Brien ſon of the count of Brittany: in the North, the inhabitants of Northumberland and York threw off their allegiance, defeated and killed their foreign governors; they were ſtrengthened by a large body of forces from Denmark, and were animated by the preſence of Edgar Atheling, who quitted Scotland to place himſelf at their head: Hereward, a nobleman of Eaſt Anglia, celebrated for his valour, aſſembled his followers, and taking ſhelter in the Iſle of Ely,

made

made inroads on all the neighbouring country; and Edric, the forester, calling in the assistance of the Welch, laid siege to Shrewsbury.

The tempest was however hushed by the policy and vigour of William; he inflamed his followers by the promise of new forfeitures; he purchased the retreat of the Danes; he reduced to obedience Northumberland and York: Edgar Atheling again sought refuge in Scotland; Edric implored the clemency of the conqueror, and was once more received into favour; and Hereward alone, confiding in the advantages of his situation, defied his power.

Though William still preserved the language of clemency and forgiveness towards the chiefs, his heart was hardened against the people. To chastise the turbulence of the Northumbrians, he laid waste that fertile country between the Humber and the Tees, for the extent of sixty miles; the lives of an hundred thousand persons, driven miserably from their habitations, are computed to have been sacrificed by this barbarous stroke of policy. He took advantage of the imprudence with which the bulk of the landed property had engaged in these insurrections, to involve the proprietors in confiscation; their estates were transferred to the Normans; the most ancient and honourable English families were reduced to beggary; they had the mortification of seeing their castles and manors possessed by foreigners of the meanest extraction; and they found themselves carefully excluded from every road which led either to riches or preferment.

The feudal law, which William found established in Normandy and France, he introduced into England. He divided, with very few exceptions, besides the royal demesnes, the lands of that country into baronies; and conferred them with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These barons shared a great part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their

lords the ſame duty and ſubmiſſion in peace and war, which he himſelf paid to his ſovereign. The whole kingdom contained about 700 chief tenants, and 60,215 knights fees; and as none of the native Engliſh were admitted into the firſt rank, the few who retained their landed property, were glad to be received into the ſecond, under the protection of ſome powerful Norman.

The doctrine which exalted the papacy above all human power, had gradually diffuſed itſelf from Rome; and was at the Norman invaſion more prevalent in the Southern, than in the Northern kingdoms of Europe. Pope Alexander, who had aſſiſted William in his conqueſts, naturally expected that he would extend to England the reverence for this ſacred character, and break the ſpiritual independence of the Saxons. As ſoon, therefore, as the Norman prince was eſtabliſhed on the throne, Alexander diſpatched to him Eſmenfroy, biſhop of Sion, as his legate; and the king, though he was probably led by principle to ſubmit to Rome, embraced the opportunity to degrade thoſe Engliſh prelates who were obnoxious to him. In a council of the principal eccleſiaſtics, he depoſed Stegan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Agelric, biſhop of Seleſey, and Agelmare of Elmham; and as it was a fixed maxim in this reign, that no native of the iſland ſhould be advanced to any dignity, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military, Lanfranc, a Milaneſe monk, celebrated for his learning and piety, and zealous in promoting the intereſts of the papacy, was preferred to the vacant ſee.

The ſuperſtitious ſpirit which became dangerous to ſome of William's ſucceſſors, was checked by the abilities of that monarch; he prohibited his ſubjects from acknowledging any one for pope whom he himſelf had not previouſly received; nor would he ſuffer any letters or bills from Rome to be produced without the ſanction of his authority; but he was ſtill more vigilant to humble the Engliſh: he even formed a project of extinguiſhing the Engliſh language: he ordered that

in

in all ſchools the youth ſhould be inſtructed in the French tongue; and that all law proceedings ſhould be directed in the ſame idiom; no other was uſed at court, or in faſhionable company; and hence that mixture of French which is at preſent found in the Engliſh tongue, and which compoſes the greateſt part of our language.

The ſituation of the two great earls Edwin and Morcar became now very diſagreeable. Senſible that they had entirely loſt their dignity, they determined to attempt the recovery of it by force. While Edwin retired to his eſtate in the North, with a view of commencing an inſurrection, Morcar took ſhelter in Ely with the brave Hereward. To ſubdue that iſle, William ſurrounded it with flat-bottomed boats, and made a cauſeway through the moraſſes to the extent of two miles; the rebels ſurrendered at diſcretion; Hereward alone forced his way ſword in hand through the enemy, and continued his hoſtilities at ſea, till William, charmed with his bravery, received him to favour. But Morcar was thrown into priſon; Edwin was killed in attempting to eſcape into Scotland; and Edgar Atheling, weary of a fugitive life, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and, with a decent penſion, was ſuffered to live unmoleſted in England.

An inſurrection in the province of Maine, which had fallen under the dominion of William, was ſoon quelled; but the revolt of the Norman barons in England was more formidable; theſe bore with reluctance the growing arrogance of William; nor amidſt their complaints did they forget the indignity of ſubmitting to a baſtard. Of theſe the chief were Roger earl of Hereford, and Ralph de Gueder earl of Norfolk; and earl Waltheof, the laſt of the Engliſh who for ſome generations poſſeſſed any power, and who had married Judith the niece of William, in a moment of feſtive intemperance, joined in the league which it was propoſed to form againſt the king. When his cool judgment returned, he dreaded leſt a revolution, which might augment A. D. 1073, 1075.

the authority of the Norman barons, ſhould ſubject his country, inſtead of one, to a multitude of tyrants. Diſtracted and irreſolute, he imparted the project and his doubts to his wife Judith, who having already fixed her affections on another, conveyed in exaggerated terms the intelligence of the conſpiracy to her uncle.

The earl, in the mean time, had revealed in confeſſion the ſecret to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who urged him to make atonement for his guilt by acknowledging it. He accordingly paſſed over to Normandy, and laid open the whole deſign to the king. The conſpirators informed of his departure, immediately flew to arms; but before the arrival of the Danes, on whoſe aſſiſtance they had depended, they were defeated and diſperſed. The earl of Norfolk retired in deſpair to Brittany, where he poſſeſſed a conſiderable eſtate: the property of the earl of Hereford was forfeited, and he himſelf impriſoned during life. But Waltheof obtained not the pardon he had been promiſed, and which his repentance merited; William, inſtigated by his niece, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and executed; the Engliſh, who conſidered him as the laſt reſource of their nation, lamented his fate; they fancied miracles were wrought by his reliques; and the infamous Judith, falling ſoon after under the king's diſpleaſure, was abandoned by all the world, and paſſed the reſt of her life in contempt, remorſe, and miſery.

A. D. 1076. While William was exerting his temporal, the Roman pontiffs were aſſiduous in extending their ſpiritual authority. Gregory the Seventh, the moſt enterpriſing of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, undertook the arduous taſk of diſjoining the eccleſiaſtical from the civil power, and excluding profane laymen from the rights they had aſſumed of filling the vacancies of biſhoprics, abbies, and other ſpiritual dignities. After a long ſtruggle, he prevailed over Henry the Fourth, emperor of Germany; he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt Nicephorus,

Nicephorus, emperor of the Eaſt; he degraded Boleſlas king of Poland, and kept in continual alarm Philip king of France.

William, the moſt haughty and potent prince of Europe, was not ſecure from his attacks. Gregory required him to perform homage, and remit the tribute that was due to the vicar of Chriſt: by the tribute he meant Peter's pence, which though at firſt a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, had been conſtrued into a badge of ſubjection. William replied, that the money ſhould be remitted as uſual; but neither had he promiſed to do homage to Rome, nor was it in the leaſt his purpoſe to impoſe that ſervitude on his ſtate: but though he ſupported with firmneſs the royal dignity, he was infected with the general ſuperſtition of the age; it was the policy of the court of Rome to prohibit the marriage of prieſts; and in a ſynod that was held this year at Wincheſter, with the king's conſent, it was decreed that the biſhops ſhould not thenceforth ordain any prieſts or deacons without exacting from them a promiſe of celibacy.

From eccleſiaſtical affairs the attention of William was recalled to civil; danger menaced him in his own family. His eldeſt ſon, Robert, was greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, and without reſerve in his friendſhips or enmities. He had been flattered with the hope, that his father, in poſſeſſion of England, would reſign to him the independent adminiſtration of his dominions on the continent: diſappointed in this expectation, he cheriſhed a violent jealouſy againſt his younger brothers William and Henry: irritated by an imaginary affront, he quitted the court, and after a vain attempt to ſurpriſe the citadel of Rouen, he fled to Hugh de Neufchatelle, a powerful Norman baron, and openly levied war againſt his father. After a long ſtruggle, he was beſieged in the caſtle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoiſin: in one of the rencounters beneath the walls, Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet,

and

and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat enſued, till at laſt the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and diſmounted him. On his calling out for aſſiſtance, his voice diſcovered him to his ſon, who, ſtruck with remorſe and horror, threw himſelf at his feet, and implored his forgiveneſs. William for the moment was implacable, and giving him his malediction, departed for his camp on Robert's horſe, which the prince had aſſiſted him to mount; but the impreſſion of his ſon's generoſity, together with the mediation of the queen, overcame the reluctance of the king, and brought about a reconciliation between him and Robert, who ſoon after accompanied him to England.

The interval from war was employed by William in an undertaking which does honour to his memory: he appointed commiſſioners to ſurvey all the lands in the kingdom; their extent in each diſtrict; their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, paſture, wood, and arable land which they contained. This monument, called Domeſday Book, was perfected in ſix years, and is ſtill preſerved in the exchequer; and though only ſome extracts have hitherto been publiſhed, it ſerves to illuſtrate to us, in many particulars, the ancient ſtate of England.

Though the king was naturally a great economiſt, there was one pleaſure to which, as well as all the Normans, he was extremely addicted, and that was hunting. This pleaſure he indulged at the expence of his unhappy ſubjects. Not content with thoſe large foreſts which former kings poſſeſſed in all parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Winchester, the uſual place of his reſidence; and for that purpoſe he laid waſte the country in Hampſhire for an extent of thirty miles, expelled the inhabitants, ſeized their property, even demoliſhed churches and convents, and made no compenſation to the ſufferers. He at the ſame time enacted laws which prohibited his ſubjects from hunting in his foreſts under the ſevereſt

penalties; the killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was puniſhed with the loſs of the delinquent's eyes; and that at a time when the killing a man could be atoned for by a moderate fine.

The domeſtic happineſs of William was interrupted by the death of his conſort Matilda, whom he tenderly loved; and a war in which he was involved with France, demanded his preſence in Normandy. Some of the French barons had treſpaſſed on his frontiers; theſe were encouraged in their preſumption by their own ſovereign, Philip: and the diſpleaſure of William was increaſed by the raileries which that monarch had thrown out againſt him. He was become corpulent, and had been detained in bed ſome time by ſickneſs, when Philip expreſſed his ſurpriſe that his brother of England ſhould be ſo long in being delivered of his big belly. The king ſent him word, that as ſoon as he was up he would preſent ſo many lights at Notre-dame, as perhaps would give little pleaſure to the king of France, alluding to the uſual practice at that time of women after child-birth. Immediately after his recovery, he led an army into, and laid waſte the Iſle of France; he took the town of Mante, which he reduced to aſhes. But the progreſs of theſe hoſtilities was ſtopped by an accident which put an end to his life. His horſe ſtarting, he bruiſed his belly on the pommel of the ſaddle, and, being in a bad habit of body, he began to apprehend the conſequences, and ordered himſelf to be carried in a litter to the monaſtery of St. Gervas. In his laſt moments he was ſtruck with remorſe for the cruelties he had exerciſed: he iſſued orders that earl Morcar, and the other Engliſh nobles, ſhould be releaſed; he left Normandy and Maine to his eldeſt ſon Robert; he wrote to Lanfranc, deſiring him to crown his ſecond ſon, William; to Henry, his third, he bequeathed nothing but the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda; but he foretold that he would one day ſurpaſs both his brothers in power and opulence. He

A. D. 1683, 1687.

ex-

expired in the ſixty-third year of his age, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign over England, and the 54th of that over Normandy.

Few princes have been more fortunate than this great monarch, or were more entitled to grandeur and proſperity, from the abilities and vigour of mind which he diſplayed in all his conduct. His ſpirit was bold and enterpriſing; and his ambition, though exorbitant, ſubmitted to the duties of ſound policy. It was by art and diſſimulation, as well as by courage and generoſity, that he acquired his aſcendancy over mankind; the maxims of his adminiſtration were ſevere, and ill-calculated for ſoftening the rigours which under the moſt gentle government are inſeparable from conqueſt; and though theſe rendered him infinitely odious to the Engliſh, yet he tranſmitted his power to his poſterity, and the throne is ſtill filled by his deſcendants.

Some writers have been deſirous of refuſing to this prince the title of Conqueror, in the ſenſe which that term commonly bears; it is needleſs to enter into a controverſy, which muſt neceſſarily degenerate into a diſpute of words: it ſuffices to ſay, that the duke of Normandy's firſt invaſion of England was hoſtile; that this ſubſequent adminiſtration was ſupported by arms; that in the very frame of his laws he made a diſtinction between the Normans and the Engliſh to the advantage of the former; that he acted in every thing as abſolute maſter over the natives, whoſe intereſt or affections he totally diſregarded; and that if there was an interval when he aſſumed the appearance of a legal ſovereign, the period was very ſhort, and was nothing but a temporary ſacrifice, which he, as has been the caſe with moſt conquerors, was obliged to make, of his inclination to his preſent policy.

King William had iſſue, beſides his three ſons who ſurvived him, five daughters; Cicily, a nun in the monaſtery of Feſcamp, afterwards abbeſs in the holy trinity of Caen, where ſhe died. Conſtantia, married to Alan Fergents, earl of Brittany. Alice, contracted to Harold.

Harold. Adela, married to Stephen earl of Blois, by whom ſhe had four ſons, William, Theobald, Henry, and Stephen, of whom the elder was neglected on account of the imbecility of his underſtanding; and Agatha, who died on her journey to the king of Gallicia, to whom ſhe was betrothed.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IV.

Acceſſion of William, ſurnamed Rufus—A conſpiracy againſt him—Invaſion of Normandy—The Cruſades—Acquiſition of Normandy.—Quarrel with Anſelm the Primate—Death and Character of William Rufus.—Acceſſion of Henry—Invaſion of and Accommodation with Robert—Conqueſt of Normandy—Quarrel and Compromiſe with Anſelm—Wars abroad—Death of Prince William—Death of Henry.—Stephen aſcends the Throne—War with Scotland—Inſurrection in favour of Matilda—Stephen taken Priſoner—Matilda crowned—Stephen releaſed—Reſtored to the Crown—Civil Wars—Compromiſe between the King and Prince Henry—Death of the King.

A. D. 1087, 1095. WILLIAM, who, from the colour of his hair, was ſurnamed Rufus, had no ſooner procured his father's letter to Lanfranc, than he haſtened to England, that by his celerity he might prevent the claims of Robert. He arrived before the intelligence of his father's death; ſecured the fortreſſes of Dover, Pevenſey, and Haſtings, got poſſeſſion of the royal treaſure, and was ſolemnly crowned by the primate, who profeſſed his ready obedience to the laſt wiſh of his friend and benefactor, the Conqueror.

Robert was about the ſame time acknowledged ſucceſſor to Normandy; but the tranquillity with which this partition was effected, was ſoon interrupted. The barons, who poſſeſſed eſtates in England and Normandy, were uneaſy at the ſeparation of thoſe territories;

tories; they reſpected the claim of primogeniture in Robert, and they preferred his open and generous nature to the haughty diſpoſition of the king. A conſpiracy was formed againſt William; the chiefs of it were Odo, biſhop of Baieux, and Robert earl of Mortaigne, maternal brother of the Conqueror; with theſe were aſſociated many of the moſt potent Norman barons; and in expectation of a powerful army from Normandy, they returned to their caſtles, and commenced immediately hoſtilities.

Conſcious of his danger, William endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Engliſh, by promiſes of future lenity, and the indulgence of hunting in the royal foreſts; their credulity ſwelled his forces to a numerous army, with which he marched into Kent, and compelled his uncles, who had ſeized the fortreſſes of Pevenſey and Rocheſter, to ſurrender. Their ſubmiſſion, with the indolent conduct of Robert, broke the hopes of the other rebels; ſome few of whom received a pardon; but the greater part were attainted, and their eſtates beſtowed on the adherents to William.

The king was no ſooner delivered from his apprehenſions, than he forgot his promiſes; the death of Lanfranc, who had uſed his influence to moderate his violent diſpoſition, gave full ſcope to his tyranny: not only the Engliſh were the victims of his tyranny, but he invaded the privileges of the church, and ſeized the temporalities of the vacant biſhoprics and abbies. His ambition was equal to his avarice; he envied his brother the poſſeſſion of Normandy; acquired by fraud the fortreſſes of St. Valory and Albermarle, and croſſed the ſea with a formidable army. The mediation of the nobles on both ſides prevented affairs from coming to extremities; and by a treaty, advantageous to William, he obtained the territory of Eu, and the towns of Aumale and Feſcamp, on condition that he ſhould aſſiſt Robert in reducing Maine, which had revolted from his authority. The two brothers alſo agreed, that on the demiſe of either without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould inherit his dominions.

In

In the conteſt between William and Robert, Henry, the youngeſt ſon of the Conqueror, had ſided with the latter. In the treaty that was concluded between the brothers he found himſelf neglected: full of indignation he retired to St. Michael's Mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, and ravaged the neighbourhood. Robert and William beſieged him with their joint forces, and nearly reduced him by the ſcarcity of water, when the elder, hearing of his diſtreſs, granted him permiſſion to ſupply himſelf, and alſo ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generoſity, he replied, *What, ſhall I ſuffer my brother to die of thirſt? where ſhall we find another when he is gone?* Notwithſtanding this indulgence, prince Henry was ſoon after obliged to capitulate; and being deſpoiled of all his patrimony, wandered about for ſome time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty.

To the Norman war ſucceeded hoſtilities in Scotland, and theſe were ſcarce ſuſpended before the enmity of Robert and William again broke out. The latter had invaded Normandy with twenty thouſand men; his progreſs was checked by a domeſtic inſurrection, and the intelligence that the Welch had entered England. William immediately returned; by his vigour he cruſhed the rebels, and repelled the invaders; and the noiſe of theſe petty wars and commotions ſoon ſunk in the tumult of the cruſades which engroſſed the attention of Europe.

A. D. 1069. The Arabians, united and inflamed by the pretended revelations of Mahomet, had ſpread their empire from the banks of the Ganges to the Streights of Gibraltar. The Turcomans, who were their brethren in faith, and their rivals in dominion, had wreſted from them Syria, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Jeruſalem. Their barbarous manners terrified the pilgrims who attempted to viſit the holy ſepulchre; and theſe, on their return, filled all Chriſtendom with indignation againſt the infidels. Above the reſt, Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy,

cardy was diſtinguiſhed by the vehemence and eloquence of his complaints: his reſentment againſt the Moſlems was not confined to words; he entertained the deſign of leading to their deſtruction the hardy warriors of the Weſt. Pope Martin the Second entered into his views, and ſummoned at Placentia a council of eccleſiaſtics and ſenators ſo numerous, that no building could contain them. The harangue of the pontiff, and of Peter himſelf, who repreſented the indignity the Chriſtian name ſuffered from allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of infidels, was anſwered by the acclamations of the zealous multitude. A ſecond council, which Martin held at Clermont, in Auvergne, was ſtill more fully attended; his pathetic exhortation kindled the impatience of his hearers: *It is the will of God! it is the will of God!* burſt ſpontaneouſly from them. The ſign of the croſs became the badge of union, and was affixed on their right ſhoulder, by all who enliſted themſelves in this ſacred warfare.

Such was the general ardour, that while the youthful and vigorous took up arms, the infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by preſents and money. A promiſcuous diſorderly multitude of 300,000 perſons, under the conduct of Peter the Hermit, *the Moneyleſs*, attempted to penetrate through Hungary and Bulgaria, to Conſtantinople, and periſhed by diſeaſe, by famine, and the ſword. Theſe were followed by the more numerous and more diſciplined bands of France, Germany, Normandy, Italy, and England, led by Hugh count of Vermendois, brother to the French king, Raymond count of Toulouſe, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen count of Blois.

Robert duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and miſtaken generoſity of his ſpirit, had early enliſted himſelf in the cruſade; but being unprovided with money, he offered to mortgage, or rather ſell his dominions, to his brother William, for the inadequate ſum of ten thouſand marks. The bargain was ſoon

concluded; and while Robert ſet out with a magnificent train for the holy land, William poſſeſſed himſelf of Normandy, and thus re-united beneath his authority the territories of his father.

William himſelf was far from being infected with the enthuſiaſm of the age: as an inſtance of his irreligion, we are told that he once accepted of ſixty marks from a Jew, whoſe ſon had been converted to Chriſtianity, and who engaged him by the preſent to aſſiſt him in bringing back the youth to Judaiſm. William employed both menaces and perſuaſion for that purpoſe; the convert was, however, inflexible; and the king, when he ſent to the father, to inform him of his ill-ſucceſs, obſerved, that it was but equitable he ſhould retain half the money for the pains he had taken.

A more heinous offence, probably, in the eyes of the clergy, was the quarrel with Anſelm the primate: the king had undertaken an expedition againſt Wales, and required the archbiſhop to furniſh his quota of ſoldiers; the latter, afraid to refuſe, ſent them ſo miſerably accoutred, that William was diſpleaſed, and threatened him with a proſecution. Affairs came to ſuch extremities between them, that Anſelm, afraid of his life, retired beyond ſea; all his temporalities were ſeized; but he was received with great reſpect by the Roman pontiff, who eſpouſed his cauſe with ſo much zeal as even to menace the king with excommunication.

A. D. 1097, 1100. The ceſſion of Normandy and Maine had extended the dominions without increaſing the power of William. The Norman nobles in their revolts were ſupported by the French monarch. Helie, lord of le Fleche, a ſmall town of Anjou, had acquired the affections of the citizens of Maine: he was introduced into the town, and preſſed the ſiege of the citadel; and William, who was hunting in the new foreſts when he received the intelligence of this hoſtile attempt, was ſo provoked, that he immediately turned his horſe, and galloped to the port of Dartmouth. He found the weather ſo tem-

tempeſtuous that the mariners thought it dangerous to put to ſea; but William ordered them to ſet ſail inſtantly, telling them, that they never yet heard of a king that was drowned. By his vigour and talents he preſerved the citadel of Maine, and purſued Helie into his own territories; but in the ſiege of the caſtle of Majol he received a wound, which obliged him to abandon the enterpriſe, and to return to England.

This check had not diminiſhed in the king the inſatiate deſire of acquiſition. William, earl of Poictiers, and duke of Guienne, inflamed with the ſpirit of adventure, determined to join the cruſaders: as he wanted money for the enterpriſe, he propoſed to mortgage his dominions to the king of England, who accepted the offer, and had prepared a fleet and army to eſcort the money, and to take poſſeſſion of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poictou, when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in the New Foreſt in hunting, accompanied by Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his ſkill in archery; and as William diſmounted after a chace, Tyrrel, impatient to ſhew his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a ſtag which ſuddenly ſtarted before him; the arrow glancing from a tree, ſtruck the king in the breaſt, and inſtantly killed him. Tyrrel, without informing the royal attendants, gained the ſea ſhore, embarked for France, and proceeded on an expedition to Jeruſalem, as a penance for his involuntary crime. The body of William was found by the country people, and buried with little pomp at Wincheſter. Perfidious and oppreſſive, the extremes of prodigality and rapacity, which were reconciled in him, had long eſtranged from him the hearts of his ſubjects, which were not to be regained by the building of the Tower, Weſtminſter Hall, and London Bridge; the monuments that chiefly perpetuate his name.

Adorned with the barren lands which he had acquired by his valour in reſcuing Jeruſalem from the Infidels, Robert was returning to his native country, when in paſſing through A. D. 1100, 1106.

Italy, he was ſtruck with the charms of Sybilla, the daughter of an Italian count; he courted her, and obtained her hand: but while in that delicious climate he indulged his paſſion, his friends in England and Normandy in vain expected his arrival, and the crown, which both his birth and martial reputation entitled him to, was uſurped by his younger brother.

Prince Henry was hunting with Rufus in the New Foreſt, when he was informed of that monarch's fate; he haſtened from Wincheſter, extorted by menaces the royal treaſure from William de Breteuil, the keeper of it, and purſued without delay his journey to London, where, having aſſembled ſome noblemen and prelates, whom his addreſs or liberality gained to his ſide, he was ſaluted king; and in leſs than three days after his brother's death was ſolemnly crowned by Maurice biſhop of London.

To maintain the dignity which he had thus irregularly poſſeſſed himſelf of, Henry reſolved to court, by fair profeſſions, the favour of his ſubjects: he paſſed a charter, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppreſſions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. To the clergy he promiſed that he would never ſeize the revenues of a ſee or abbey during its vacancy; nor farm, or diſpoſe of, for money, any eccleſiaſtical benefice. To the nobility he engaged, that upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir, or whoever ſhould be named in his will, ſhould be admitted to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, on paying a juſt relief: he remitted the wardſhip of minors, and allowed guardians to be appointed, who ſhould be anſwerable for the truſt; and he conſented not to diſpoſe of any heireſs in marriage, but by the advice of all his barons. He renounced the right of impoſing moneyage, and of levying taxes at pleaſure, on the farms which the barons retained in their own hands; he made ſome general profeſſions of moderating fines; he offered a pardon for all offences, and forgave all debts due to the crown; he required that the vaſſals

of the barons ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges which he granted to his own barons; and he promiſed a general confirmation and obſervance of the laws of king Edward.

Such were the chief articles of this celebrated charter, a copy of which was lodged in ſome abbey of each county; but which, though it ſerved the preſent purpoſe, in leſs than a century, fell into ſuch oblivion, that when the barons deſired to make it the model of the great charter which they exacted from king John, they with difficulty found a copy of it. Henry was ready to promiſe, but ſlow to redreſs grievances which flowed from the exerciſe of regal authority. To increaſe indeed his popularity, he committed to priſon Ralph Flambard, biſhop of Durham, who had been the chief inſtrument of oppreſſion under his brother; but this act was followed by another which was a direct violation of his own charter: he kept the ſee of Durham vacant for five years, and, during that time, retained poſſeſſion of all its revenues.

Senſible of the great authority which Anſelm had acquired by his character of piety, and by the perſecution he had ſuſtained, he was anxious to engage his friendſhip: he reinſtated him in his dignities, though the primate refuſed to renew to him that homage which he had done to his brother, and to which every Engliſh biſhop had hitherto ſubmitted. Henry, intent on other plans, overlooked his contumacy; he had formed a deſign of marrying Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. That princeſs in her youth had worn the veil; ſhe however aſſerted that ſhe had not put it on with a view of entering into a religious life, but in compliance with a cuſtom familiar to the Engliſh ladies, who, under that habit, protected their chaſtity from the brutal violence of the Normans. In a council of prelates and nobles ſummoned by Anſelm to Lambeth, her apology was admitted, and her eſpouſals with Henry were celebrated by the primate with great pomp and magnificence.

A. D. 1101, 1106. By his marriage with a Saxon princeſs, Henry had endeared himſelf to the Engliſh; nor was their ſupport more than neceſſary for the defence of his crown. Robert, on his arrival from Italy, had eſtabliſhed his authority over Normandy, and was invited into England by Robert de Beleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, William de la Warrenne, earl of Surry, and ſeveral of the principal nobility; even the ſeamen were affected with the general popularity of his character, and they carried over to him the greater part of the fleet which had been equipped to oppoſe his paſſage. By careſſes and declarations, by the influence of Anſelm, and the name of Matilda, Henry aſſembled a ſufficient force to encounter his brother, and preſſed forwards towards Portſmouth, where he had landed. The two armies lay in ſight of each other for ſeveral days without coming to action; both princes ſeemed apprehenſive of the event, and, by the mediation of Anſelm, a treaty took place: it was agreed that Robert, in lieu of his pretenſions to England, ſhould receive a portion of 3000 marks; that if either of the princes died, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; and that the adherents of each ſhould be fully pardoned.

Though the advantage of this treaty was manifeſtly Henry's, he was the firſt to violate it; he watched the moment to avenge himſelf on the friends of Robert. The uſual violence and tyranny of the Norman barons ſoon afforded him an opportunity to bring to trial, and to execute the earls of Shrewſbury and Surrey. Though the ſubſequent and illegal conduct of theſe nobles was the pretence for their ſentence, men eaſily conceived the real ſource of it was their attachment to Robert. Enraged at their fate, that prince had paſſed over to England, and remonſtrated ſeverely with his brother; but he met with ſo cold a reception, that he fancied his own liberty in danger, and was glad to purchaſe an eſcape by reſigning his penſion.

The miſconduct of Robert encouraged the ambition of Henry; that active courage which in the cru-

ſades

ſades had diſtinguiſhed the former, was no longer to be diſcerned. He was alternately plunged in the moſt diſſolute pleaſures, or abandoned to the moſt womaniſh ſuperſtition. The barons, whom a ſevere adminiſtration alone could have reſtrained, gave reins to their rapacity, and Normandy became a ſcene of violence and depredation. To avail himſelf of theſe diſorders, Henry with a formidable army entered the dutchy. In his firſt campaign he took Baiueux by ſtorm, and was admitted into Caen. In his ſecond, Robert, rouſed from his lethargy, advanced to meet him, with a view of terminating their quarrels in a deciſive battle: he reſumed his wonted ſpirit; he animated his troops by his example; and broke in the firſt charge the Engliſh ranks; but when he had the faireſt proſpect of victory, his hopes were blaſted by the cowardice and flight of one of his generals; his veterans, diſmayed, and ſuſpicious of each other, turned their backs; the fortune of Henry prevailed; and Robert, with ten thouſand of his followers, were made priſoners.

This defeat was fatal for ever to the power and liberty of Robert; Normandy ſubmitted to the victor; and the vanquiſhed prince was carried by his brother into England, was detained in cuſtody during the remainder of his life, and died in the caſtle of Cardiff in Glamorganſhire. In the ſame action, Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jeruſalem, became the captive of Henry. But the king gave him his liberty, and ſettled a ſmall penſion upon him, on which he retired, and lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten.

The conqueſt of Normandy ſeemed to eſtabliſh the throne of Henry; and, having obtained his ends, he no longer yielded an implicit obedience to the opinions of Anſelm: by having refuſed to do him homage, that prelate had denied his right of inveſtiture in eccleſiaſtical benefices; he was ſupported in his refuſal by the Roman pontiff Paſcal IId. The king, who was not

inclined tamely to ſurrender ſo important a prerogative, threw out menaces againſt ſuch as ſhould attempt to oppoſe him in the exerciſe of it: and Anſelm, ſenſible of his danger, deſired him to make a journey to Rome; his requeſt was granted; but the king in his abſence ſeized all the revenues of his ſee; he however ſent William de Warelweſt to negociate with the pope, and to find ſome means of accommodating this delicate affair.

The Engliſh miniſter told Paſcal, that his maſter would rather loſe his crown than part with the right of granting inveſtitures; "*and I*, replied Paſcal, *would rather loſe my head than allow him to retain it.* The reſolution of the latter was not to be doubted. By pronouncing the tremendous ſentence of excommunication, he had already obliged the emperor of Germany to relinquiſh a ſimilar claim; nor was he inclined to treat the king of England with greater indulgence. He had excommunicated his miniſter; when Henry, apprehenſive of the event, and jealous of the fidelity of his ſubjects in a ſtruggle with the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, propoſed a middle courſe, to which Paſcal acceded.

Before biſhops took poſſeſſion of their dignities, they had formerly been accuſtomed to paſs through two ceremonies. They received from the hand of the ſovereign a ring and croſier, as ſymbols of their office; and this was called their *inveſtiture:* they alſo made their ſubmiſſions, which were required of vaſſals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of *homage*; and as the king might refuſe both to grant the *inveſtiture*, and to receive the *homage*, he had virtually the ſole power of appointing prelates. Paſcal was however for the preſent ſatisfied with his reſigning the right of granting inveſtitures, by which the ſpiritual dignity was ſuppoſed to be conferred; and he allowed the biſhops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges; this accommodation, if it reſtored not confidence, ſuſpended

the

the appearance of jealouſy between Henry and Anſelm; and the primate returning to England, was reinſtated in the enjoyment of the revenues of his ſee.

From this embarraſſment Henry was ſcarcely delivered, before he was involved in another on account of Normandy. A. D. 1108, 1120.

Though he had detained Robert a priſoner in England, he had intruſted William, the ſon of that prince, a youth about ſix years old, to the care Halie de St. Saen, a nobleman of ſtrict honour and probity, who had married Robert's natural daughter. Henry had ſoon reaſon to repent of his choice; but when deſired to recover poſſeſſion of William's perſon, Halie conveyed his pupil to the court of Fulk, count Anjou, and ſoon obtained for him the protection of Lewis the Groſs, king of France. Theſe meaſures demanded the preſence of Henry in Normandy: on the frontiers of that dutchy, he waged an unequal but not an inglorious war, againſt the count of Anjou, and the king of France, who ſupported the pretenſions of the ſon of Robert: by his addreſs he detached Fulk from the intereſts of the confederates; and by his vigour and conduct, he ſoon after compelled Lewis to ſubſcribe a peace, in which the claim of the young William was buried in ſilence.

But this public proſperity of Henry was overbalanced by a domeſtic calamity; his only ſon, William, had reached his eighteenth year: he had been affianced to the daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou; and had been acknowledged as ſucceſſor to the kingdom of England, and the dutchy of Normandy; he had been detained at Barfleur, where Henry had embarked to return to England, ſome hours after his father: his captain and crew had conſumed the interval in drinking; and when they weighed anchor, in their impatience to overtake the king, they ſtruck the ſhip on a rock, where ſhe immediately foundered. William was put into the long-boat, and had already got clear of the ſhip, when hearing the cries of his natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Perche, he ordered the ſeamen

to

to row back, in hopes of ſaving her. But the numbers who then crowded in, ſoon ſunk the boat, and the prince with all his retinue periſhed: above an hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy were loſt on this occaſion; and the only perſon who eſcaped, was a butcher of Rouen, who clung to the maſt, and was taken up the next morning by fiſhermen.

A. D. 1121, 1130. When the intelligence of this calamity was conveyed to Henry, he fainted away, and never after recovered his wonted chearfulneſs; he had now no legitimate iſſue except one daughter, Matilda, whom in 1110 he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the emperor Henry the Fifth, and whom he had ſent over to be educated in Germany. Her abſence and marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the ſucceſſion; and in hopes of male heirs, Henry courted and obtained the hand of Adalair, daughter of Godfrey duke of Lovaine; Adalair however proved barren in his embraces; and a new league that was formed in favour of his nephew William, between the count of Anjou and the king of France, revived his former apprehenſions: the opportune death of the emperor enabled him to conciliate Fulk, by beſtowing his daughter Matilda on Geoffrey the ſon of that prince: William was however ſtill ſupported by the king of France; and Charles, earl of Flanders, being aſſaſſinated, Lewis immediately put the young prince in poſſeſſion of that county, to which he had pretenſions in right of his grandmother. He ſurvived a very little time this piece of good fortune, which ſeemed to open the way to farther proſperity; he was killed in a ſkirmiſh with the Landgrave of Alſace, his competitor for Flanders; and his death put an end, for the preſent, to the jealouſy and inquietude of Henry.

Though the government of that monarch was arbitrary, it was as little oppreſſive as the neceſſity of his affairs would permit. The tenants of the king's demeſnes were not only obliged to provide the court *gratis*

gratis with proviſions, but to furniſh carriages whenever the king made a progreſs into any of the counties. Theſe duties were aggravated by the manner in which they were inforced; and Henry not only endeavoured to mitigate them, but puniſhed with rigour thoſe who had abuſed his confidence in availing themſelves of his claim to oppreſs.

One great object of his policy was to guard againſt the encroachments of the court of Rome. He remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the introduction of a *foreign* legate into England; and the pope, unwilling to hazard an open rupture with him, appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury his legate, renewed his commiſſion from time to time, but ſtill pretended that the rights which that prelate had ever exerciſed as metropolitan, were entirely derived from the indulgence of the apoſtolic ſee.

The tranquillity of England enabled Henry to viſit Normandy, and ſoon after his arrival, his ſatisfaction was increaſed by his daughter the empreſs Matilda being brought to bed of a ſon, who was named after him. On this occaſion the nobility of England and Normandy renewed to that princeſs the oath of fealty which they had already ſworn; two more ſons of whom ſhe was ſucceſſively delivered, augmented Henry's partiality for her; but ſome incurſions of the Welch determined him to return to England, when he was ſuddenly attacked by an illneſs, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, which proved fatal to him; and died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving by will his daughter Matilda the heir of all his dominions. A. D. 1131, 1135.

Henry was certainly one of the moſt accompliſhed princes that has filled the Engliſh throne. His perſon was manly, and his countenance engaging; he was eloquent, penetrating, and brave; affable in his addreſs; and ſtrongly ſuſceptible of friendſhip as well as reſentment: by his great progreſs in literature, he acquired the name of *Beau-clerc*, or the ſcholar: but his

his application to thoſe ſedentary purſuits abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government; and though the learning of that age was better fitted to corrupt than improve the underſtanding, his natural good ſenſe preſerved it untainted both by pedantry and ſuperſtition. On his acceſſion he granted a charter to London, which ſeems to have been the firſt ſtep towards rendering that city a corporation: by this charter the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middleſex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect its own ſheriff and judiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from ſcot, danegelt, trials by combat, and lodging the kings revenue: to theſe articles were added, a confirmation of the privileges of their courts of huſtings, wardmotes, and common halls, and their liberty of hunting in Middleſex and Surrey.

A. D. 1135, 1139. The failure of male heirs to the kingdom of England and the dutchy of Normandy, ſeemed to leave the ſucceſſion open, without a rival, to the empreſs Matilda; and as Henry had made all his vaſſals in both ſtates ſwear fealty to her, he preſumed that they would not eaſily be induced to depart at once from her hereditary right, and from their own reiterated engagements. But the irregular manner in which he himſelf had acquired the crown, might have inſtructed him how little he ought to rely on theſe foundations; and it was from his own family he had to dread the invaſion of his daughter's title.

Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, had been married to Stephen count of Blois, and had brought him ſeveral ſons; among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngeſt, had been invited over to England by the late king, and had received great honours, riches, and preferment. Henry had betaken himſelf to the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, and was created biſhop of Wincheſter; the eſtabliſhment of Stephen was equally honourable; he had married Matilda, daughter and heireſs of the count of Boulogne, who brought

brought him, beſides that feudal ſovereignty in France, an immenſe landed property in England. Stephen alſo by this marriage acquired a new connection with the royal family, as Mary, his wife's mother, was ſiſter to David the reigning king of Scotland, and to Matilda the firſt wife of Henry, and mother of the empreſs.

In return for theſe favours, Stephen had affected the greateſt attachment to his uncle, and the moſt ardent zeal for the ſucceſſion of Matilda; yet at the ſame time he had not neglected to cultivate the friendſhip of the Engliſh nation. By his bravery he acquired the eſteem of the barons; by his generoſity and affability, he obtained the affections of the people, particularly of the Londoners; and though he dared not take any ſteps towards his future grandeur, leſt he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the jealouſy of ſo penetrating a prince as Henry; he ſtill hoped, that by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might in time be able to open his way to the throne.

No ſooner, however, had Henry breathed his laſt, than Stephen gave full reins to his ambition. He haſtened over to England; and though the citizens of Dover, and of Canterbury, appriſed of his purpoſe, ſhut their gates againſt him, he ſtopped not till he arrived at London. The populace, who had been prepared by his emiſſaries, ſaluted him king; by the influence of his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, he gained the clergy; the artful tale, that Henry on his death bed, diſſatisfied with his daughter Matilda, expreſſed his intentions of leaving his dominions to the count of Boulogne, reconciled the obſequious conſcience of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Stephen was ſolemnly crowned by that prelate; very few of the barons attended his coronation; but none oppoſed his unjuſt and flagrant uſurpation.

It was not on the fidelity of the clergy or nobility, that Stephen relied. He allured from the continent, by his liberality, a race of men inured to ſlaughter, equally

equally inſenſible to fear and juſtice, and who knew no law but his will: theſe guarded a throne which ſeemed eſtabliſhed by the ſubmiſſion of the people, and the ſanction of the pope, which Stephen had been careful to obtain.

The Normans no ſooner heard that Stephen had got poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, than they ſwore allegiance to him: and Matilda was ſcarcely informed of her father's death, before ſhe found another had occupied the place that had been deſtined for her. Yet amidſt all theſe advantages, Stephen was far from being free from apprehenſion; he dreaded in particular, Robert earl of Gloceſter, natural ſon to the late king, a man of honour and abilities, and zealouſly attached to his ſiſter Matilda. This nobleman indeed took the oath of fealty to Stephen; but he took it with the reſerve that the king ſhould never invade any of his rights or dignities. The clergy and the nobility imitated his example. Many of the latter, in return for their ſubmiſſion, exacted terms ſtill more deſtructive to the royal authority; they required the right of fortifying their caſtles, and of putting themſelves in a ſtate of defence. All England was immediately filled with their fortreſſes, which the owners garriſoned either with their vaſſals, or with licentious ſoldiers; unbounded rapine was exerciſed upon the people for the maintenance of their troops; wars between the barons were carried on with the utmoſt fury; the ariſtocratical power, which is uſually ſo oppreſſive in feudal governments, roſe rapidly to a height before unknown, and overſhadowed the regal authority.

But Stephen was not of a diſpoſition tamely to ſubmit to theſe encroachments: finding that the legal prerogatives of the crown were reſiſted and abridged, he was tempted to make his power the ſole meaſure of his conduct. He indulged his mercenaries in every ſpecies of depredation; the indignation with which the Engliſh bore their arrogance was fomented by the earl of Gloceſter, who having ſettled with his friends

friends the plan of an inſurrection, retired beyond ſea, ſolemnly renounced his allegiance, and ſent the king a defiance. About the ſame time David, king of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's title, and penetrating into Yorkſhire, committed the moſt barbarous devaſtations. The fury of his ravages enraged the northern barons, who might otherwiſe have been inclined to join him; they aſſembled their vaſſals; and at North Allerton awaited the enemy: the battle was obſtinate, and obtained the name of The Standard, from a lofty crucifix which the Engliſh carried with them. The Scots were defeated; David and his ſon Henry narrowly eſcaped the purſuit of the victors; and this ſucceſs awed the mal-contents, and might have eſtabliſhed the throne of Stephen, had he not engaged in a quarrel with the clergy.

Many of the prelates acted as barons, and employed their military power againſt their ſovereign, or their neighbours. Amongſt theſe, Roger biſhop of Saliſbury had built two caſtles at Sherborne and the Devizes: and his nephew Alexander, biſhop of Lincoln, had erected a fortreſs at Newark. Stephen, ſenſible from experience of the miſchiefs attending theſe multiplied citadels, reſolved to begin with deſtroying thoſe of the clergy. On pretence of a fray which had ariſen between the retinues of the biſhop of Saliſbury and the earl of Brittany, he ſeized both that prelate and the biſhop of Lincoln, and obliged them to deliver up their ſtrong places.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, being armed with a legatine commiſſion, though the king's brother, forgot the ties of blood to vindicate the privileges of the clergy. In a ſynod at Weſtminſter he complained of the impiety of Stephen's meaſures, and that aſſembly ſummoned the king to juſtify himſelf before them. Stephen, inſtead of reſenting the indignity, ſent Aubery de Bare to plead his cauſe, who accuſed the two prelates of treaſon and ſedition; the ſynod however refuſed to examine their conduct until the

the caſtle of which they had been diſpoſſeſſed, was reſtored: and the biſhop of Saliſbury threatened to appeal to the ſee of Rome.

A. D. 1139, 1141. While this diſpute augmented the diſcontent of the people, the empreſs Matilda, invited by the legate himſelf, and, accompanied by the earl of Gloceſter, landed; ſhe was received into Arundel caſtle, and thence removed to Gloceſter, where ſhe was joined by Geoffrey Talbot, William Mahon, Ralph Lovel, William Fitz-John, William Fitz-Alen, and many other barons, and her party ſeemed every day to gain ground of her antagoniſts.

The war immediately broke out in every quarter; and England, for above a twelvemonth, was diſtreſſed and laid waſte by the mutual rage of the contending factions. At the expiration of that term an event happened which promiſed ſome end to the public calamities. The caſtle of Lincoln had been ſurpriſed by the partiſans of Matilda; but the citizens, who were better affected towards Stephen, having invited him to their aid, he laid ſiege to the caſtle. The earl of Gloceſter haſtened with an army to the relief of his friends: and Stephen abandoned the ſiege to give him battle. After a violent ſhock, the two wings of the royaliſts were put to flight; and Stephen himſelf, ſurrounded by the enemy, was at laſt, after great efforts of valour, borne down by numbers, and taken priſoner. He has conducted to Gloceſter; and though at firſt treated with humanity, was ſoon after, on ſome ſuſpicion, thrown into priſon, and his party appeared entirely broke by the captivity of their leader; yet Matilda, amidſt every proſpect of proſperity, deemed it neceſſary to court the clergy, by attaching to her the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was intruſted with the formidable commiſſion of legate. She promiſed him, that if he would recogniſe her title to the throne, he ſhould in return be entire maſter of the adminiſtration; the ambitious prelate acceded. In an aſſembly of the eccleſiaſtical

cleſiaſtical order, he profeſſed his affection for his brother; but declared that he conſidered the ties of blood as inferior to thoſe of duty; he inveighed againſt the oppreſſion of Stephen; and pronounced Matilda the lawful ſovereign of England. That princeſs, afraid to ſummon the ſtates, conſented to receive the crown from the hands of the clergy. The deputies from London, who were the only laymen ſummoned to this aſſembly, demanded that Stephen ſhould be reſtored to liberty; but their voices were drowned in the majority; and the capital, notwithſtanding its attachment to the late king, ſubmitted to Matilda.

Had that princeſs been capable of moderation, or had ſhe attended to the counſels of earl Robert, ſhe might have defied the intrigues of her enemies; but ſhe was by nature paſſionate and imperious; nor did ſhe know how to temper by affability the harſhneſs of a refuſal. Stephen's queen, ſeconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her huſband, on condition that he ſhould renounce the crown, and retire into a convent; the legate deſired that prince Euſtace, his nephew, might inherit Boulogne, and the other patrimonial eſtates of his father; the Londoners applied for the eſtabliſhment of king Edward's laws inſtead of thoſe of king Henry. All theſe petitions were rejected in the moſt haughty and peremptory manner.

A. D. 1141, 1154.

The legate, who probably had never been ſincere in his compliance, availed himſelf of Matilda's haughtineſs to excite the Londoners to revolt: Matilda, informed of their intentions to ſeize her perſon, fled to Oxford, and thence to Wincheſter: the ſiege of that city was inſtantly formed by the legate, who had aſſembled his vaſſals, and had been joined by the mercenaries of Stephen. The princeſs made her eſcape; but earl Robert, her brother, fell into the hands of the enemy: the empreſs, ſenſible of his merit and importance, conſented to exchange Stephen for him; and the civil war was rekindled with greater fury than ever.

During the captivity of Stephen, Normandy had ſubmitted to the earl of Anjou; and Robert perſuaded Geoffrey to let his ſon Henry, a young prince of great hopes, paſs over into England. This expedient however produced nothing deciſive; the war was ſtill continued with various ſucceſs; and Matilda haraſſed with inceſſant action ſought repoſe with her ſon in Normandy. The death of her brother, which happened about the ſame time, would have proved fatal to his intereſts, had not ſome incidents occurred which checked the courſe of Stephen. He endeavoured to extort from the nobles of their own party the ſurrender of their caſtles: with ſtill greater imprudence, he engaged in a quarrel with the court of Rome. He refuſed to ſuffer Eugenius the Third to name the deputies for the Engliſh church, who were to attend a general council, which had been ſummoned at Rheims in Champagne. The pope, to puniſh his obſtinacy, laid his whole party under an interdict: and Stephen was at laſt obliged to remove the reproach, by making proper ſubmiſſions to the ſee of Rome.

The weakneſs of the competitors, rather than any decreaſe of mutual animoſity, had produced a tacit ceſſation of arms in England; and many of the nobility had embarked in the holy wars, when an event happened which threatened a revival of hoſtilities. Prince Henry, who had reached his ſixteenth year, was deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood, from his great uncle, David, king of Scotland. For that purpoſe he repaired to the Scottiſh court with a great retinue, and thence made ſeveral incurſions into England: and in theſe, his dexterity and vigour, his valour and prudence, raiſed the hopes of his party: ſoon after his return to Normandy, he was, by Matilda's conſent, inveſted in that duchy; and upon the death of his father Geoffrey, which happened in the ſubſequent year, he took poſſeſſion both of Anjou and Maine, and gained a great acceſſion by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter and heireſs of William duke

of

of Guienne, and earl of Poictou, who had been divorced, from a ſuſpicion of infidelity from Lewis the Seventh of France. Neither the report of her gallantries, nor her age, which doubled that of Henry, deterred the latter from ſoliciting her hand; and eſpouſing her ſix weeks after her divorce, he got poſſeſſion of all her dominions as her dowry.

The luſtre which he received from this acquiſition had ſuch an effect in England, that when Stephen, deſirous to inſure the crown to his ſon Euſtace, required the archbiſhop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his ſucceſſor, the primate refuſed compliance, and fled beyond ſea from the reſentment of Stephen.

Henry, informed of theſe diſpoſitions, invaded England, gained at Marlborough ſome advantage over Stephen, and at Malmeſbury prepared to encounter him in a pitched battle. The great men on both ſides, alarmed at the conſequences of a deciſive action, compelled the rival princes to a negociation. The death of Euſtace, during the treaty, facilitated the concluſion of it. On the demiſe of Stephen, the crown was to revert to Henry; and William, Stephen's ſurviving ſon, was to ſucceed to the earldom of Boulogne, and his patrimonial eſtate. After all the barons had ſworn to the obſervance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as heir to the crown, that prince evacuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which happened the next year, after a ſhort illneſs, prevented all thoſe quarrels and jealouſies which were likely to have enſued in ſo delicate a ſituation.

Had Stephen ſucceeded by a juſt title, he appears to have been well qualified to have promoted the happineſs of his ſubjects. He was poſſeſſed of induſtry, activity, and courage; and though his judgment may be arraigned, his humanity muſt be acknowledged, and his addreſs commended. His advancement to the throne was productive neither of ſatisfaction to

himſelf, nor proſperity to his people; during his reign, England was rent with civil broils; during theſe, the ſee of Rome made a rapid progreſs in its uſurpation; and appeals to the pope, which had been always prohibited by the Engliſh laws, became common in every eccleſiaſtical controverſy.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

State of France.—First acts of Henry's government.—The king determines to repreſs the encroachments of the eccleſiaſtical power.—Character and riſe of Thomas à Becket—He is made archbiſhop of Canterbury.—Quarrel between the King and Becket.—Conſtitutions of Clarendon.—Baniſhment of Becket—Compromiſe with him—His return from baniſhment—His murder.—Submiſſion of the king.—State of Ireland.—Conqueſt of that iſland.—The king's accommodation with the court of Rome.—Revolt of young Henry and his brothers.—Wars and inſurrections.—War with Scotland.—William king of Scotland defeated and taken priſoner.—The king's accommodation with his ſon.—Cruſade.—Revolt of prince Richard.—Death and character of Henry.

THE acceſſion of Henry the Second, who poſſeſſed ſo many rich provinces on the continent, was an event in appearance dangerous to the French monarchy: though the king of France ſeemed to rule over a rich and fertile territory, his real authority was but ſmall. The royal demeſnes conſiſted only of Paris, Orleans, Eſtampes, Compeigne, and a few places ſcattered over the northern provinces; the king's vaſſals were accuſtomed to make war without his permiſſion, to exerciſe a civil juriſdiction without controul, and to unite in oppoſition to the crown, of which they were jealous. The power of the king of England was A. D. 1153, 1162.

more abſolute, and the diſproportion between him and his vaſſals greater; and Henry, beſides being ſeated on the throne of England, was maſter, in right of his father, of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poictou, Xaintonge, Auverne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limoſin; he ſoon after annexed Brittany to his other ſtates; and theſe provinces compoſed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and were much ſuperior in extent and opulence to thoſe territories which were ſubjected to the immediate juriſdiction and government of the king.

But the numerous ſubjects of Henry were diſunited by ſituation and by law, by language and by manners; and the prince himſelf, from his reſidence in England, was conſidered as a kind of foreigner in his French dominions; the inhabitants of which were inclined to transfer their allegiance to their ſupreme lord, who was at hand to avail himſelf of every contingency: the other powerful vaſſals of the French crown, were rather pleaſed to ſee the expulſion of the Engliſh, and were not affected with that jealouſy which would have ariſen from the oppreſſion a co-vaſſal, who was of the ſame rank with themſelves.

Yet under every circumſtance, the riſing grandeur of the houſe of Anjou or Plantagenet, could not fail to impreſs with terror the king of France. Lewis had ever maintained a ſtrict union with Stephen, and had endeavoured to prop the tottering fortunes of that bold uſurper. But after this prince's death, it was too late to think of oppoſing the ſucceſſion of Henry, who had been received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men.

The firſt acts of his government correſponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities. He diſmiſſed the obnoxious mercenaries of Stephen; he revoked all grants made by his predeceſſors; he reſtored the coin which had been debaſed during the former reign; he was rigorous in the execution of juſtice, and the ſuppreſſion of violence; and he cauſed to be demoliſhed,

liſhed, the new erected caſtles which had proved ſo many ſanctuaries to free-booters and rebels.

His brother Geoffrey, by the voluntary election of the inhabitants, had acquired the city and county of Nantz; he died ſoon after he had taken poſſeſſion of them; and Henry, as his heir, claimed theſe territories. By a contract of marriage which he entered into between his ſon, then only five years old, and a daughter of Lewis, ſtill in her cradle, he prevailed on the latter prince not to oppoſe his pretenſions; he croſſed the ſeas, and entered Brittany with a formidable army; and Conan the duke delivered up to him the county of Nantz. The able conduct of the king procured him more important advantages; by his addreſs he concluded a third marriage between his third ſon, Geoffrey, and the daughter and heireſs of the duke of Brittany: the duke of Brittany died ſoon after; and Henry, as the guardian of his infant ſon and daughter-in-law, took poſſeſſion of that principality.

The king of France had been an inactive ſpectator of the progreſs of Henry in Brittany; but he reſiſted his attempts to ſeize the county of Thouloufe: an open war was kindled between the two monarchs; but it was productive of no memorable event: a ceſſation of arms was followed by a peace; and the differences of theſe potent rivals were accommodated by the mediation of the pope.

On his return to England, Henry directed his attention towards the encroachments of Rome: theſe had grown with a rapidity not to be brooked by a prince of his high ſpirit; he had long cheriſhed the deſign of repreſſing them; and to facilitate the deſign, he had advanced to the dignity of metripolitan, Becket, his chancellor, on whoſe compliance he thought he could entirely de-depend. A. D. 1162, 1172.

Thomas à Becket, the firſt man of Engliſh deſcent who ſince the Norman conqueſt had riſen to any conſiderable ſtation, was born of reputable parents in the

city of London. He early inſinuated himſelf into the favour of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and obtained from that prelate conſiderable preferment. This enabled him to purſue at Bologne, the ſtudy of civil and canon law; and on his return he was promoted by his patron to the archdeaconry of Canterbury: he was afterwards employed at the court of Rome; and on Henry's acceſſion, he ſoon acquired the confidence and friendſhip of that monarch: he was raiſed to the dignity of Chancellor, one of the firſt civil offices in the kingdom; he was alſo made provoſt of Beverly, dean of Haſtings, and conſtable of the Tower: he was intruſted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon. His expences correſponded with his preferments; and exceeded any thing which had been hitherto known in England. A great number of knights were retained in his ſervice; the moſt illuſtrious barons were proud of being received at his table; and the king himſelf frequently vouchſafed to partake of his entertainments. As his way of life was ſplendid and opulent, his amuſements and occupations were gay; as he had only taken deacon's orders, he did not think it unbecoming his character to employ his leiſure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horſemanſhip: he expoſed his perſon in ſeveral military actions; he carried over at his own charge, ſeven hundred knights to attend the king in his war at Thouloufe, and in an embaſſy to France, he aſtoniſhed that court by the number and magnificence of his retinue.

As Becket was acquainted with, and had always ſeemed to approve, the king's intentions of reſtraining the pretenſions of the church, he appeared the fitteſt perſon on the death of Theobald, for the high ſtation of metropolitan; but no ſooner was he inſtalled in this dignity, than he altered his demeanor and conduct. He maintained in his retinue and attendants alone, his ancient pomp and luſtre; in his own perſon he affected the greateſt auſterity; he wore ſackcloth next his ſkin, changed it ſeldom, and uſually

eat

eat the coarſeſt bread, and drank water; he ſeemed perpetually employed in reciting prayers, and pious lectures; his aſpect wore the appearance of ſerioufneſs, and ſecret devotion; and all men of penetration plainly ſaw that he was meditating ſome great deſign, and that the ambition and oſtentation of his character, had turned itſelf towards a new and more dangerous object.

It was not long before his intentions ſtood revealed: he ventured to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, who had preſumed to aſſert his right of preſentation to a living of which he was patron; though, in compliance with the royal mandate, he afterwards abſolved Eynsford, yet he did it with reluctance; and this bold and early ſtep was an example to Henry of the reſiſtance he was to expect.

That prince was however far from relinquiſhing his deſign of retrenching the clerical uſurpations. The ſchiſm for the papacy which divided all Europe, afforded him an opportunity favourable to his projects. Among other inventions to obtain money, the clergy had induced the neceſſity of penance as an atonement for ſin; and the ſums of money that were received by the prieſts in lieu of theſe penances, are ſaid to have exceeded the amount of the king's revenue. To eaſe his people of ſo heavy an impoſition, Henry demanded that a civil officer of his appointment, ſhould be preſent in all eccleſiaſtical courts, and ſhould for the future give his conſent to every compoſition, which was made with ſinners for their ſpiritual offences.

The eccleſiaſtics in that age had renounced all immediate ſubordination to the magiſtrate; and as many of them were of low character, crimes of the blackeſt dye were committed daily with impunity by them. An hundred murders ſince the king's acceſſion had been perpetrated by men in holy orders. A clerk in Worceſterſhire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had proceeded to murder the father; the general

general indignation againſt the crime, moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuſe which had become ſo palpable: he required that the clerk ſhould be delivered up, and receive condign puniſhment from the magiſtrate. Becket inſiſted on the privileges of the church, and maintained, no greater puniſhment could be inflicted on the criminal than degradation. Henry, exaſperated, ſummoned an aſſembly of the prelates of England; he demanded whether they were willing to ſubmit it to the ancient laws of the kingdom; and though at firſt they endeavoured to evade the queſtion, by the exception *of their own order*, they yielded ſoon after to his menaces: Becket however for a long time remained inflexible; and at laſt rather complied in conſequence of the deſires of the court of Rome, than of the threats of the king.

But Henry was not content with a declaration in general terms; he reſolved to define expreſsly thoſe laws to which he required obedience; and to mark the limits between the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions, he ſummoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, to whom he referred the great and important queſtion.

The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reaſons which he urged, or by his ſuperior authority: the biſhops were overawed by the general combination againſt them: and the following laws, commonly called the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*, were voted without oppoſition by this aſſembly. It was enacted, that all ſuits concerning the advowſon and preſentation of churches ſhould be determined in the civil courts: that the churches belonging to the the king's fee ſhould not be granted in perpetuity without his conſent: that clerks accuſed of any crime ſhould be tried in the civil courts: that no perſon, particularly no clergyman of any rank, ſhould depart the kingdom without the king's licence: that excommunicated perſons ſhould not be bound to give ſecurity for continuing in their preſent place of abode: that laics ſhould not be accuſed in ſpiritual courts, except

except by loyal and reputable promoters, and witneſſes: that no chief tenant of the crown ſhould be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an interdict, except with the king's conſent: that all appeals in ſpiritual cauſes ſhould be carried from the archdeacon to the biſhop, from the biſhop to the primate, from him to the king; and ſhould be carried no farther without the king's conſent: that if any lawſuit aroſe between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenant, and it be diſputed whether the land be a lay or an eccleſiaſtical fee, it ſhould firſt be determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men, to what claſs it belonged; and if it be found to be a lay-fee, the cauſe ſhould finally be determined in the civil courts: that no inhabitant in demeſne ſhould be excommunicated for non appearance in a ſpiritual court, till the chief officer of the place where he reſided be conſulted, that he may compell him by the civil authority, to give a ſatisfaction to the church: that the archbiſhops, biſhops, and other ſpiritual dignitaries, ſhould be regarded as barons of the realm; ſhould poſſeſs the privileges, and be ſubject to the burthens belonging to that rank; and ſhould be bound to attend the king in his great councils, and aſſiſt at all trials, till the ſentence, either of death or loſs of members, be given againſt the criminal: that the revenue of vacant ſees ſhould belong to the king; the chapter, or ſuch of them as he pleaſes to ſummon, ſhould ſit in the kings chapel till they made the new election with his conſent, and that the biſhop-elect ſhould do homage to the crown: that if any baron or tenant *in capite*, ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to the ſpiritual courts, the king ſhould employ his authority in obliging him to make ſuch ſubmiſſions; if any of them throw off his allegiance to the king, the prelates ſhould aſſiſt the king with their cenſures in reducing him: that goods forfeited to the king ſhould not be protected in churches or church-yards: that the clergy ſhould no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promiſe;

promiſe; but ſhould have their law-ſuits equally with others, to the determination of the civil courts: and that the ſons of villains ſhould not be ordained clerks, without the conſent of their lord.

Henry, by thus reducing the ancient cuſtoms of the realm to writing, endeavoured to prevent all future diſpute with regard to them; and by paſſing ſo many eccleſiaſtical ordinances in a national and civil aſſembly, he fully eſtabliſhed the ſuperiority of the legiſlature above all ſpiritual canons. Apprehenſive, however, that the biſhops might retract their conſent to theſe conſtitutions, he required them to ſet their ſeal to them. Becket, of all the prelates, alone oppoſed his will; but finding himſelf deſerted even by his brethren, he at length gave way, and engaged by oath, *legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reſerve*, to obſerve them: the ratification of the pope was ſtill thought requiſite; but though Alexander owed the higheſt obligations to Henry, he rejected the conſtitutions of Clarendon, which he ſaw would eſtabliſh England independent of the papal power; and only offered for the ſake of peace to ratify ſix articles, and thoſe the leaſt important.

Becket no ſooner learnt the determination of the Roman pontiff, than he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for his compliance, and endeavoured to engage the other biſhops to adhere to their common rights, in which he repreſented the intereſt and honour of God to be concerned. To make him feel his reſentment, Henry excited againſt him a proſecution for ſome land that he held, and when the primate excuſed himſelf on account of indiſpoſition, from appearing, that prince ſummoned a great council at Northampton, in which he was arraigned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court.

Becket defended himſelf with vigour; he urged that he had diſcovered no contempt of the king's court; but on the contrary, by ſending four knights to excuſe his abſence, had virtually acknowledged its authority: that even ſhould it be found that he had been guilty of

non-appearance, the laws had offered a very ſlight fine to that offence; and that as he was an inhabitant of Kent, where his archieſpiſcopal palace was ſeated, he was by law entitled to ſome greater indulgence than uſual, in the rate of his fine. But theſe pleas were overruled: the barons voted whatever ſentence Henry was pleaſed to dictate; the biſhops, though they regarded Becket as the champion of their privileges, concurred with the majority; the primate was declared guilty of contempt of the king's court, and all his goods and chattels were confiſcated.

Henry, ſatisfied with this ſentence, however violent and oppreſſive, ſoon after required Becket to give in the acounts of his adminiſtration while chancellor: he eſtimated the balance due, at 44,000 marks; and demanded ſureties for it. In this emergency, ſeveral of the primate's friends adviſed him to reſign his ſee, on condition of receiving an acquital: others were of opinion that he ought to ſubmit himſelf entirely to the king's mercy; but the daring ſpirit of Becket rejected theſe timid counſels; he determined to brave his enemies. After celebrating maſs, where he had previouſly ordered that the entroit to the communion ſervice ſhould begin with the words, *princes ſat and ſpake againſt me*, arrayed in the ſacred veſtments, and bearing the croſs aloft in his hands, he entered the royal apartments. The king aſtoniſhed at this parade, ſent ſome of the prelates to remonſtrate with him on his audacious behaviour. They reminded him of his ſubſcription to the conſtitutions of Clarendon: he anſwered, that he had indeed ſubſcribed them legally, with good faith, and *without fraud and reſerve*; but in theſe words, was virtually implied a ſalvo for the rights of their order; that the conſtitutions had been ſolemnly annulled by the pope; that a determined reſolution was evidently embraced to oppreſs the church; that he plainly ſaw that he was the victim, who, by his ruin, muſt prepare the way for the abrogation of all ſpiritual immenſities: he therefore put himſelf and his ſee under the protection of the ſupreme pontiff;

pontiff; and that however terrible the indignation of Henry might be, his ſword could only kill the body, while that of the church intruſted into the hands of the primate, would kill the ſoul, and throw the diſobedient into eternal perdition.

The appeal to the pope in a civil cauſe, was a matter new and unprecedented; but Becket was reſolute to perſevere in it: he refuſed to hear the ſentence which the barons and ſheriffs had paſſed on the king's claim: and, having in vain aſked permiſſion to leave Northampton, he withdrew ſecretly to the ſea-coaſt, and found a veſſel which conveyed him to Gravelines.

He was received with every mark of regard by the king of France, who in his jealouſy of the king of England, forgot that his was the common cauſe of princes: it was leſs ſurpriſing, that the pope ſhould turn with coldneſs from a magnificent embaſſy, which Henry ſent to accuſe the primate; he even abſolved Becket from his oath, and aſſigned to him a reſidence in the convent of Pontagney, where he was enabled by the liberality of the French monarch, to live in magnificence: in return, Becket reſigned into the hands of Alexander, the ſee of Canterbury, to which he affirmed he had been uncanonically elected by the authority of the royal mandate; and the pope, beſides inveſting him anew with theſe dignities, pretended to abrogate by a bull, the ſentence which the great council of England had paſſed againſt him.

To provide againſt the conſequences of the breach which impended between his kingdom and the apoſtolic ſee, Henry inhibited, under ſevere penalties, all appeals to the pope or archbiſhop: he declared it treaſonable to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom, and puniſhable in ſecular clergyman, by the loſs of their eyes, and caſtration; irregulars by amputation of their feet; and irlaics with death. Theſe were edicts of the utmoſt importance; yet they were enacted by the ſole authority of the king, and were derived from his will and pleaſure.

On

On the other hand, Becket not only iſſued a cenſure, excommunicating the king's chief miniſters by name, but alſo abrogated and annulled the conſtitutions of Clarendon; and declared that he ſuſpended the ſpiritual thunder over Henry himſelf, ſolely that the prince might avoid the blow by a timely repentance.

Henry eluded the immediate danger, by flattering Alexander with the proſpect of a ſpeedy reconciliation between himſelf and Becket: and the interval enabled both the king and pope, to perceive that neither of them could expect a final and deciſive victory over the other; and that they had more to fear, than to hope from the duration of the controverſy. Though the former might guard England againſt the contagion of ſuperſtitious prejudices, his French provinces lay open to the attack of a dangerous rival; and the latter engaged in war with the emperor Frederic, dreaded leſt Henry ſhould join the party of his enemy: yet, even under theſe circumſtances ſeveral of their negociations proved ineffectual: in one of theſe conferences at which the French king was preſent, Henry ſaid to that monarch; "There have been many kings of England, ſome of greater, ſome of leſs authority than myſelf: there have alſo been many atchbiſhops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of reſpect: let Becket but act towards me with the ſame ſubmiſſion which the greateſt of his ptedeceſſors have paid to the leaſt of mine, and there ſhall be no controverſy between us." Lewis was ſo ſtruck with this ſtate of the caſe, and with an offer which Henry made to ſubmit his cauſe to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning the primate, and withdrawing his friendſhip from him during ſome time: but the bigotry of that prince, and their common animoſity againſt Henry, ſoon produced a renewal of their former good correſpondence.

All difficulties were at laſt adjuſted between the parties; and the king allowed Becket to return, on conditions which may be eſteemed both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. He was not required to give up any rights of the church, or reſign any of

thoſe pretenſions which had been the original ground of the controverſy. It was agreed that all theſe queſtions ſhould be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents ſhould, without making farther ſubmiſſion, be reſtored to all their livings, and that even the poſſeſſors of ſuch benefices as depended on the ſee of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's abſence, ſhould be expelled, and Becket have liberty to ſupply the vacancies. In return for conceſſions which entrenched ſo deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of ſeeing his miniſters abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt them, and of preventing the interdict, which, if thoſe hard conditions had not been complied with, was ready to be laid on all his dominions. It was eaſy to ſee how much he dreaded that event, when a prince of ſo high a ſpirit could ſubmit to terms ſo diſhonourable in order to prevent it. So anxious was Henry to accomodate all differences, and to reconcile himſelf fully with Becket, that he took the moſt extraordinary ſteps to flatter his vanity, and even, on one occaſion, humiliated himſelf ſo far as to hold the ſtirrup of that haughty prelate while he mounted.

But the king attained not even that temporary tranquillity, which he had hoped to reap from theſe expedients. While he daily dreaded the ſentence of excommunication, he had thought it prudent to aſſociate his ſon prince Henry in the royalty: the ceremony had been performed by the hands of Roger, archbiſhop of York; but Becket pretended, as archbiſhop of Canterbury, he had the ſole right to officiate, and had incited the king of France to proteſt againſt the coronation of young Henry, unleſs the princeſs, his daughter, ſhould at the ſame time receive the royal unction. Lewis was, however, appeaſed by the promiſe of Henry, that the ceremony ſhould be renewed in the perſons of the prince and princeſs; and could any thing have ſatisfied Becket, he would have been contented with the acknowledgments of Roger, and an aſſurance

of

of recovering his rights by officiating at the ſecond coronation: but he reſolved to make the injury he pretended to have ſuffered, a pretence for taking revenge on his enemies. In the name of the pope, he ſuſpended the archbiſhop of York, and excommunicated the biſhops of London and Saliſbury: in the ſame ſentence he included Robert de Broc and Nigel Sackville, with many others, who had either aſſiſted at the coronation of the prince, or had been active in the late perſecution of the clergy: theſe croſſed the ſeas to Baieux, where the king then reſided: and their complaints informed Henry that all his late negociations would not prevent an immediate conteſt between the civil and ſpiritual powers.

The archbiſhop of York remarked to him, that ſo long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity: the king himſelf being vehemently agitated, burſt forth into an exclamation againſt his ſervants, whoſe want of zeal, he ſaid, had ſo long left him expoſed to the enterpriſes of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his houſehold, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William de Traci, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking theſe paſſionate expreſſions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and ſwearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, ſecretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expreſſions which they had dropped, gave a ſuſpicion of their deſign; and the king diſpatched a meſſenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing againſt the perſon of the primate: but theſe orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpoſe. The four aſſaſſins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly about the ſame time at Saltwood, near Canterbury, and being there joined by ſome aſſiſtants, they proceeded in great haſte to the archiepiſcopal palace. They found the primate, who truſted entirely to the ſacredneſs of his character, very ſlenderly attended; and though they threw out many menaces and reproaches againſt him, he was ſo incapable of fear, that, without uſing any precautions againſt their violence, he

immediately went to St. Benedict's church to hear veſpers. They followed him thither, attacked him before the altar, aud having cloven his head with many blows, retired without meeting any oppoſition. This was the tragical end of Thomas à Becket, a prelate of the moſt lofty, intrepid, and inflexible ſpirit, who was able to cover to the world, and probably to himſelf, the enterpriſes of pride and ambition, under the diſguiſe of ſanctity, and of zeal for the intereſts of religion: an extraordinary perſonage, ſurely, had he been allowed to remain in his firſt ſtation, and had directed the vehemence of his character to the ſupport of law and juſtice; inſtead of being engaged, by the prejudices of the times, to ſacrifice all private duties and public connections to ties which he imagined or repreſented as ſuperior to every civil and political conſideration. But no man who enters into the genius of that age can reaſonably doubt of this prelate's ſincerity. The ſpirit of ſuperſtition was ſo prevalent, that it infallibly caught every careleſs reaſoner, much more every one whoſe intereſt, and honour, and ambition, were engaged to ſupport it. All the wretched literature of the times was inliſted on that ſide: ſome faint glimmerings of common ſenſe might ſometimes pierce through the cloud of ignorance; but thoſe who preſerved themſelves untainted by the general contagion, proceeded on no principles which they could pretend to juſtify; and if they retained ſome ſhare of underſtanding, they were more indebted to their total want of inſtruction than to their knowledge.

Henry, on the firſt report of Becket's violent meaſures, had purpoſed to have him arreſted, and had already taken ſome ſteps towards the execution of that deſign: but the intelligence of his murder threw the prince into great conſternation; and he was immediately ſenſible of the dangerous conſequences which he had reaſon to apprehend from ſo unexpected an event. An archbiſhop of reputed ſanctity, aſſaſſinated before the altar, in the exerciſe of his function, and on account of his zeal in maintaining eccleſiaſtical privileges,

muſt attain the higheſt honours of martyrdom; while his murderer would be ranked among the moſt bloody tyrants that ever were expoſed to the hatred and deteſtation of mankind. Interdicts and excommunications, weapons in themſelves ſo terrible, would, he foreſaw, be armed with double force, when employed in a cauſe ſo much calculated to work on the human paſſions, and ſo peculiarly adapted to the eloquence of popular preachers and declaimers. In vain would he plead his own innocence, and even his total ignorance of the fact: he was ſufficiently guilty, if the church thought proper to eſteem him ſuch: and his concurrence in Becket's martyrdom, becoming a religious opinion, would be received with all the implicit credit which belonged to the moſt eſtabliſhed articles of faith. Theſe conſiderations gave the king the moſt unaffected concern; and as it was extremely his intereſt to clear himſelf from all ſuſpicion, he took no care to conceal the depth of his affliction. He ſhut himſelf up from the light of day, and from all commerce with his ſervants: he even refuſed, during three days, all food and ſuſtenance: the courtiers, apprehending dangerous effects from his deſpair, were at laſt obliged to break in upon his ſolitude; and they employed every topic of conſolation, induced him to accept of nouriſhment, and occupied his leiſure in taking precautions againſt the conſequences which he ſo juſtly-apprehended from the murder of the primate.

The point of chief importance to Henry, was to convince the pope of his innocence; or rather to diſſuade him from proceeding to extremities againſt England. The archbiſhop of Rouen, the biſhops of Worceſter and Evreux, with five perſons of inferior quality, were immediately diſpatched to Rome: they were with difficulty admitted to an audience; and the rage of Alexander was not appeaſed until they made oath before the whole conſiſtory, of their ſovereign's innocence, and engaged that he would make every ſubmiſſion that ſhould be required of him.

Though the rage of the clergy was thus diverted from the king, their zeal for the memory of Becket found employment in extolling the merits of his martyrdom: other ſaints had only borne teſtimony by their ſufferings to the general doctrines of chriſtianity, but Becket had ſacrificed his life to the power and privileges of the clergy: endleſs were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his reliques were more numerous, more ridiculous, and more impudently atteſted, than thoſe which ever filled the legend of any confeſſor or martyr. Two years after his death he was canonized by pope Alexander; a ſolemn jubilee was eſtabliſhed for celebrating his merits: his body was enriched with preſents from all parts of Chriſtendom; pilgrimages were performed to obtain his interceſſion with heaven; and it was computed, that in one year, above an hundred thouſand pilgrims arrived in Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb.

A. D. 1172. In the mean time, Henry, delivered from immediate danger of the thunders of the Vatican, undertook an expedition againſt Ireland. That iſland about the middle of the twelfth century, beſides ſeveral ſmall tribes, contained the principal ſovereignties of Munſter, Leinſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught, and as it had been uſual for the one or the other of theſe to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly ſome prince, who ſeemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland; Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any meaſures, either for the eſtabliſhment of order, or for defence againſt foreigners. The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved by the proſpect of theſe advantages, to attempt the ſubjecting of Ireland; and a pretence was only wanting to invade a people, who being always confined to their own iſland, had never given any reaſon of complaint to any of their neighbours. For this purpoſe, he had recourſe to Rome; which aſſumed a right to diſpoſe of kingdoms and empires;

pires; and not foreſeeing the dangerous diſputes, which he was one day to maintain with that ſee, he helped, for preſent, or rather for an imaginary convenience, to give ſanctions to claims which were now become dangerous to all ſovereigns. Adrian III. who then filled the papal chair was by birth an Engliſhman; and being on that account the more diſpoſed to oblige Henry, he was eaſily perſuaded to act as maſter of the world, and to make without any hazard or expence, the acquiſition of a great iſland to his ſpiritual juriſdiction. The Iriſh had, by preceding miſſions from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to chriſtianity; and, what the pope regarded as the ſureſt mark of their imperfect converſion, they followed the doctrines of their firſt teachers, and had never acknowledged any ſubjection to the ſee of Rome. Adrian therefore, in the year 1156, iſſued a bull in favour of Henry; in which, after premiſing that this prince had ever ſhewn an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increaſe the number of his ſaints, and elect in heaven, he repreſents his deſign of ſubduing Ireland, as derived from the ſame pious motives: he conſiders his care of previouſly applying for the apoſtolic ſanction, as a ſure earneſt of ſucceſs and victory; and having eſtabliſhed it as a point inconteſtible, that all chriſtian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to ſow among them the ſeeds of the goſpel which might in the laſt day fructify to their eternal ſalvation: he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedneſs of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every houſe, a penny to the ſee of Rome: he gives him entire right and authority over the iſland, commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their ſovereign, and inveſts with full power all ſuch godly inſtruments as he ſhould think proper to employ in an enterpriſe thus calculated for the glory of God, and the ſalvation of the ſouls of men. Henry, though armed with this authority, did not immediately put his deſign in execution; but being detained by more intereſting

buſineſs on the continent, waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinſter, had rendered himſelf obnoxious, by his licentious tyranny, and had been expelled his dominions by a confederacy, of which the king of Connaught was the chief. The exiled prince applied to Henry for ſuccour, who furniſhed him with letters patent, by which he empowered his ſubjects to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot engaged with Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul; who ſtipulated, for this aſſiſtance, the hand of his daughter Eva, and a promiſe that he ſhould be declared heir to his territories. While Richard was aſſembling his vaſſals, Dermot went into Wales; and meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, conſtable of Abertevi, and Maurice Fitzgerald, he alſo engaged them in his ſervice, and obtained their promiſe of invading Ireland: he himſelf immediately croſſed the ſeas, concealed himſelf in a monaſtery that he had founded, and prepared every thing for the reception of his Engliſh allies.

The troops of Fitz-Stephens were firſt ready. That gentleman landed in Ireland with thirty knights, ſixty eſquires, and three hundred archers; but this ſmall body, being brave men, not unacquainted with diſcipline, and completely armed, a thing almoſt unknown in Ireland, ſtruck a great terror into the barbarous inhabitants, and ſeemed to menace them with a ſignal revolution. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergaſt, who, about the ſame time, brought over ten knights, and ſixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the ſiege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and after gaining an advantage, he made himſelf maſter of the place. Soon after, Fitz-gerald arrived with ten knights, thirty eſquires, and a hundred archers; and being joined by the former adventurers, compoſed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withſtand.

Roderic, the chief monarch of the iſland, was foiled in different actions; the prince of Oſſory was obliged to ſubmit, and give hoſtages for his peaceable behaviour;

viour; and Dermot, not content with being reſtored to his kingdom of Leinſter, projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aſpired to the ſole dominion over the Iriſh.

In proſecution of theſe views, he ſent over a meſſenger to the earl of Strigul, challenging the performance of his promiſe, and diſplaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not ſatisfied with the general allowance given by Henry to all his ſubjects, went to that prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold or ambiguous permiſſion, prepared himſelf for the execution of his deſigns. He firſt ſent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and ſeventy archers, who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thouſand Iriſh that had ventured to attack him; and as Richard himſelf, who brought over two hundred horſe, and a body of archers, joined, a few days after, the victorious Engliſh, they made themſelves maſters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by aſſault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural ſon, who had been left as a hoſtage in his hands; and Richard, marrying Eva, became ſoon after, by the death of Dermot, maſter of the kingdom of Leinſter, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland. Roderic and the other Iriſh princes were alarmed at the danger; and combining together, beſieged Dublin with an army of thirty thouſand men: but earl Richard, making a ſudden ſally at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chaſed them off the field, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. None in Ireland now dared to oppoſe themſelves to the Engliſh.

Jealous of the progreſs of his own ſubjects, Henry ſent orders to recall the Engliſh, and prepared to attack Ireland in perſon. He landed at the head of five hundred knights; the adventurers appeaſed him by offering to hold their acquiſitions in vaſſalage to his crown; the ſpirits of the Iriſh were broken; nothing

remained but to receive their ſubmiſſion; the whole iſland was formerly annexed to the Engliſh crown; and Henry after a few months ſtay, returned in triumph to England.

He was ſummoned thence by an incident which was of the laſt importance to his intereſt and ſafety. The legates to whom was committed the trial of his conduct in the murder of Becket, menaced him if he protracted his appearance before them. He therefore haſtily repaired to Normandy; and was ſo fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them; he declared upon oath, inſtead of commanding, he was grieved at the death of the archbiſhop; but as it had probably been occaſioned by his expreſſions, he promiſed he would pardon and reſtore to their livings ſuch as had been baniſhed for adhering to Becket; that the ſee of Canterbury ſhould be reinſtated in all its ancient poſſeſſions; that he would ſupport two hundred knights during an year's ſervice in the Holy-land; that he would take the croſs, and if the pope required, march againſt the infidels of Spain or Paleſtine; that he would not inſiſt on the obſervance of ſuch cuſtoms derogatory to eccleſiaſtical privileges as had been introduced in his own time; nor obſtruct appeals to the pope in eccleſiaſtical cauſes: but as Henry had always maintained that the laws eſtabliſhed at Clarendon, contained not any new claims, but the ancient cuſtom of the kingdom, he was ſtill at liberty, notwithſtanding the articles of this agreement, to aſſert his pretenſions.

Delivered from this dangerous controverſy, the domeſtic and political proſperity of Henry ſeemed firmly eſtabliſhed: a numerous progeny gave luſtre and authority to his crown; and his precaution in ſettling the ſeveral branches of his family, ſeemed well calculated to prevent all jealouſy among the brothers, and to perpetuate the greatneſs of his family. He had appointed Henry, his eldeſt ſon, to be his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of England, the dutchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; territories which lay contiguous, and which, by that means, might

might eaſily lend to each other mutual aſſiſtance, both againſt inteſtine commotions and foreign invaſions. Richard, his ſecond ſon, was inveſted in the dutchy of Guienne and county of Poitou; Geoffrey, his third ſon, inherited, in right of his wife, the dutchy of Britanny; and the new conqueſt of Ireland was deſtined for the appanage of John, his fourth ſon. He had alſo negociated in favour of this laſt prince, a marriage with Adelais, the only daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy and Maurienne; and was to receive as her dowry, conſiderable demeſnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Breſſe, and Dauphiny. But this exaltation of his family excited the jealouſy of all his neighbours, who made thoſe very ſons, whoſe fortunes he had ſo anxiouſly eſtabliſhed, the means of embittering his future life, and diſturbing his government.

Young Henry, who was riſing to man's eſtate, began to diſplay his character, and aſpire to independence: brave, ambitious, liberal, munificent, affable; he diſcovered qualities which gave luſtre to youth, and prognoſticate a ſhining fortune; but, unleſs tempered in mature age with diſcretion are the forerunner of the greateſt calamities. It is ſaid, that at the time when this prince received the royal unction, his father, in order to give greater dignity to the ceremony, officiated at table as one of the retinue: and obſerved to his ſon, that never king was more royally ſerved. *It is nothing extraordinary*, ſaid young Henry to one of his courtiers, *if the ſon of a count ſhould ſerve the ſon of a king.* This ſaying, which might paſs only for an innocent pleaſantry, or even for an oblique compliment to his father, was however regarded as a ſymptom of his aſpiring temper; and his conduct ſoon after juſtified the conjecture.

In a viſit to Paris, the ambition of young Henry had been inflamed by the arts of his father in-law. He was perſuaded by Lewis, that by the ceremony of coronation, in the life of his father, he was intitled to ſovereignty. In conſequence of theſe extravagant ideas, the prince demanded the immediate A. D. 1173.

immediate poſſeſſion of England or of Normandy. The uneaſineſs of Henry at this claim was increaſed by the conduct of his queen Eleanor, who was not leſs troubleſome to her preſent huſband by her jealouſy, than ſhe had been to her former by her gallantries; her younger ſons Geoffrey and Richard participated in her diſcontents, eſcaped to France, and in imitation of their brother, required the independent adminiſtration of the territories that had been aſſigned them; and Europe ſaw with aſtoniſhment three boys ſcarcely arrived at puberty, pretend to dethrone their father, a monarch in the full vigour of his age and height of his reputation.

In this emergency, however reluctantly, Henry had recourſe to Rome; but though Alexander, well pleaſed to exert his power in ſo juſtifiable a cauſe, launched againſt the enemies of the king the thunders of the Vatican, it was ſoon found theſe weapons had not the ſame force as when employed in a ſpiritual controverſy; and Henry was reduced to ſeek more effectual auxiliaries, in the tribes of Banditti, who, under the names of Brebancons, or Cottereaux, proffered their ſwords to thoſe who would moſt freely pay them.

At the head of twenty thouſand of theſe hardy but lawleſs ruffians, and the few troops that he had brought from Ireland, the king of England marched to the relief of Verneuil, which the king of France had inveſted in conjunction with the younger Henry. He was prevailed to liſten to an inſidious offer of accommodation, while the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender: he avenged, however, the fraud, by a ſucceſsful attack on the rear of the French; he cruſhed the inſurgents in Brittany; and continued his negociations in the midſt of victory. Though he inſiſted on retaining the ſovereign authority in all his dominions, he offered to young Henry half the revenues of England, with ſome places of ſurety in that kingdom; or, if he rather choſe to reſide in Normandy, half the revenues of that dutchy, with all thoſe of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne; and promiſed to reſign Brittany

to

to Geoffrey; yet theſe terms were rejected by the confederates, who depended on the league they had concerted with the king of Scotland, and ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons of England.

In conſequence of that league, the king of Scotland entered and ravaged Northumberland; but his progreſs was checked by Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm; and he was glad to retreat within his own dominions, and to ſubſcribe a ceſſation of arms. This truce enabled the guardian to march ſouthward, and encounter the earl of Leiceſter, who, with an army of Flemings, had landed in Suffolk. The Flemings, who were moſtly weavers and artificers, were broken in an inſtant: ten thouſand of them were put to the ſword; and the earl of Leiceſter himſelf was taken priſoner.

This defeat did not diſhearten the Engliſh malecontents, who, encouraged by the king's own ſons, determined to perſevere in their enterpriſe. A.D. 1174. The earl of Ferrars, Roger de Mowbray, Hamo de Maſcie, together with many friends of the earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter, roſe in arms. The fidelity of the earls of Clare and Glouceſter was ſuſpected; and the guardian, though vigorouſly ſupported by Geoffrey, biſhop of Lincoln, the king's natural ſon by the fair Roſamond, found it difficult to defend himſelf on all quarters, from ſo many open and concealed enemies. The more to augment the confuſion, the king of Scotland, on the expiration of the truce, broke into the northern provinces with a great army of 80,000 men; which, though undiſciplined and diſorderly, and better fitted for committing devaſtation than for executing any military enterpriſe, was become dangerous from the preſent factious and turbulent ſpirit of the kingdom. Henry, who had baffled all his enemies in France, and had put his frontiers in a poſture of defence, now found England the ſeat of danger; and he determined by his preſence to overawe the mal-contents, or by his conduct and courage to ſubdue them. He landed at Southampton; and

and knowing the influence of ſuperſtition over the minds of the people, he haſtened to Canterbury, in order to make atonement to the aſhes of Thomas a Becket, and tender his ſubmiſſions to a dead enemy. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the church of Canterbury, he diſmounted, walked barefoot towards it, proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the ſaints, remained in faſting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques. Not content with this hypocritical devotion towards a man, whoſe violence and ingratitude had ſo long diſquieted his government, and had been the object of his moſt inveterate animoſity, he ſubmitted to a penance ſtill more ſingular and humiliating. He aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, put a ſcourge of diſcipline into the hands of each, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the laſhes which theſe eccleſiaſtics ſucceſſively inflicted upon him. Next day he received abſolution; and departing for London, got ſoon after the agreeable intelligence of a great victory, which his generals had obtained over the Scots, and which being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his abſolution, was regarded as the earneſt of his final reconciliation with Heaven, and with Thomas a Becket.

William, king of Scots, had pitched his camp near Alnwic; and confiding in the ſtrength of his ſituation, had detached the greateſt part of his troops to ravage the northern provinces. While he repoſed in careleſs ſecurity, he was ſuddenly attacked by Ralpho de Glenville, the king's juſticiary, who, informed of his negligence, in one night had performed from Newcaſtle a march of above thirty miles, and at dawn of day ruſhed upon the Scots at the head of a ſmall but determined band of cavalry. In the firſt ſhock, William himſelf was taken priſoner; and his troops, informed of his calamity, fled with precipitation. The diſperſed ravagers made the beſt of their way to their own country; and diſcord ariſing among them, they proceeded even to mutual hoſtilities, and

ſuffered

ſuffered more from each other's ſword than from that of the enemy.

This victory was deciſive in favour of Henry; the ſpirit of the rebels was entirely broke: the earl of Ferrars and Roger de Mowbray threw themſelves on the king's mercy: the inferior conſpirators followed their example; and in a few weeks, England was reſtored to tranquillity. Henry immediately haſtened to the defence of his Norman dominions; his preſence ſaved Rouen, which had been beſieged, and nearly ſurpriſed by the French; and Lewis, who dreaded that he might improve his ſucceſſes, and penetrate into the heart of France, conſented to a ceſſation of arms, and engaged with ſincerity in a treaty of peace.

It was near Tours that the ſons of Henry reconciled themſelves to their father. The conditions they obtained were leſs advantageous than thoſe which had been formerly offered them; adequate penſions for their ſupport, and ſome caſtles for their reſidence, together with an indemnity for their adherents, were the only indulgences granted them.

Of thoſe, who had embraced the cauſe of the young princes, the king of Scotland was the principal loſer. Henry delivered from confinement, without exacting any ranſom, about nine hundred knights whom he had taken priſoners; but it coſt William the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He ſtipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland and all his other poſſeſſions; he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom ſhould alſo do homage; that the biſhops ſhould take an oath of fealty; that both ſhould ſwear to adhere to the king of England againſt their native prince, if the latter ſhould break his engagements; and that the fortreſſes of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwic, Roxborough, and Jedborough, ſhould be delivered into Henry's hands, till the performance of articles. This ſevere and humiliating treaty was executed in its full vigour. William, being releaſed, brought up his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they did homage

to

to Henry in the cathedral of York, and acknowledged him and his ſucceſſors for their ſuperior lord. The Engliſh monarch ſtretched ſtill farther the rigour of the conditions which he exacted. He engaged the king and ſtates of Scotland to make a perpetual ceſſion of the fortreſſes of Berwic, and Roxborough, and to allow the caſtle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time. This was the firſt great aſcendant which England obtained over Scotland; and indeed the firſt important tranſaction which had paſſed between the kingdoms. Few princes have been ſo fortunate as to gain conſiderable advantages over their weaker neighbours with leſs violence and injuſtice than was practiſed by Henry againſt the king of Scots, whom he had taken priſoner in battle, and who had wantonly engaged in a war, in which all the neighbours of that prince, and even his own family, were, without provocation, combined againſt him.

A. D. 1175, 1180. The interval from war was aſſiduouſly employed by Henry in the civil adminiſtration of his kingdom. He enacted ſevere penalties againſt robbery, murder, falſe coining, and arſon; though the pecuniary commutation for crimes had been diſuſed, the ſuperſtitious trial by water ordeal ſtill ſubſiſted; Henry, however, ordained, that any man accuſed by the legal oaths of the knights of the county, ſhould, though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to leave the realm: he even moderated the trial by duel; and only admitted either of the parties to challenge it with the approbation of a jury of twelve freeholders. He partitioned England into four diviſions, and appointed itinerant juſtices, who were either prelates or noblemen, to go the circuit in each diviſion; and that there might be fewer obſtacles to the execution of juſtice, he was vigilant in demoliſhing all the new erected caſtles of the nobility.

He obliged all his ſubjects to put themſelves in a ſituation for defending themſelves, and the realm: every man poſſeſſed of a knight's fee was ordained to have

have for each fee a coat of mail, an helmet, a ſhield, and a lance; every free layman, poſſeſſed of goods to the value of ſixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner; every one that poſſeſſed ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, a lance, and a coat quilted with wool or tow.

Henry alſo paſſed an equitable law that the goods of a vaſſal ſhould not be ſeized for the debt of his lord, unleſs the vaſſal be ſurety for the debt; and that the rents of vaſſals ſhould be paid to the creditors of the lord, and not to the lord himſelf.

A. D. 1180, 1183.

The ſucceſs which had attended Henry in his wars, had for ſeveral years diſcouraged his neighbours from forming any attempts againſt him. Lewis had expired; and his ſon Philip was but in his ſixteenth year when he aſcended the throne. Henry, inſtead of endeavouring to embarraſs his adminiſtration, employed himſelf in compoſing the quarrels of the royal family of France, and in mediating a reconciliation between Philip, his mother, and his uncle. Theſe ſervices were but ill requited by Philip, who, when he came to man's eſtate, encouraged the ſons of Henry in their undutiful behaviour. Prince Henry, being refuſed the ſovereignty of Normandy, had fled from the court of England to that of France; he had hardly renewed his ſubmiſſion, before Richard declared himſelf independent in Guienne; and he could ſcarce be reduced to obedience, before Henry diſcovered his eldeſt ſon had engaged in a freſh conſpiracy. But the intrigues of that prince were broken by the ſtroke of death: he was ſeized with a fever at Martel, a caſtle near Turenne, to which he had returned in diſcontent. Conſcious of his approaching diſſolution, he ſent a meſſage to his father, who was not far diſtant; expreſſed his contrition for his faults; and intreated the favour of a viſit; Henry, apprehenſive that his ſickneſs was feigned, durſt not truſt himſelf in his hands; but when he received intelligence of his death, he was affected with the deepeſt ſorrow; he fainted away; accuſed his own hard-heartedneſs in refuſing his requeſt;

requeſt; and lamented that he had deprived him of the opportunity of pouring out his ſoul in the boſom of his reconciled father.

A. D. 1183, 1185. The conduct of his ſurviving children afforded the king no conſolation for the loſs of his eldeſt; by that event Richard was become heir to all his dominions, and the king intended that John, his third ſurviving ſon and favourite, ſhould inherit Guienne as his appanage: but Richard refuſed his conſent, fled into that dutchy, and even made preparations for carrying on war, as well againſt his father as againſt his brother Geoffrey, who was now put in poſſeſſion of Brittany. Henry ſent for Eleanor his queen, the heireſs of Guienne, and required Richard to deliver up to her the dominion of theſe territories; which that prince, either dreading an inſurrection of the Gaſcons in her favour, or retaining ſome ſenſe of duty towards her, readily performed; and he peaceably returned to his father's court. No ſooner was this quarrel accommodated, than Geoffrey, the moſt vicious perhaps of all Henry's unhappy family, broke out into violence; demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Brittany; and on meeting with a refuſal, fled to the court of France, and levied forces againſt his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his ſon's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris. The widow of Geoffrey, ſoon after his deceaſe, was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Arthur, and was inveſted in the dutchy of Brittany, under the guardianſhip of his grandfather, who, as duke of Normandy, was alſo ſuperior lord of that territory. Philip, as lord paramount, diſputed ſome time his title to this wardſhip; but was obliged to yield to the inclinations of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry.

A. D. 1185, 1188. But the rivalſhip of theſe potent princes was ſuſpended by a general paſſion for the relief of the Holy Land; from the throne of Egypt, Saladin had extended his conqueſts

† over

over the East; had reduced Jeruſalem; and almoſt entirely ſubdued the kingdom of Antioch. The weſtern chriſtians were aſtoniſhed at receiving this diſmal intelligence. The general cry was, that they were unworthy of an inheritance in Heaven, who did not vindicate from the infidels, the inheritance of God on earth. In a conference between Henry and Philip, this topic was enforced by William, archbiſhop of Tyre; theſe two monarchs conſented to take the croſs; and by their efforts, many flattered themſelves the enterpriſe might be brought to an happy iſſue.

Before the vaſt machine could be ſet in motion, new obſtacles occurred; A. D. 1189. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a ſecret confederacy with Richard, whoſe impatient temper aſpired to immediate dominion; the partial hoſtilities which had taken place between the kings of England and France, might have been adjuſted in the conference they held at Giſors; but the private views and leagues of Philip were revealed in the demand, that Richard ſhould eſpouſe his ſiſter Alice, to whom he had been already affianced; ſhould be crowned king of England, and ſhould be inveſted immediately in his father's tranſmarine dominions. The refuſal of Henry has been attributed by ſeveral hiſtorians, to his own paſſion for Alice; but he wanted not other weighty reaſons to reject theſe terms; he had already experienced the fatal effects of crowning his eldeſt ſon; and he determined ſooner to truſt to the chance of war, than to ſubmit himſelf again to a ſimilar inconvenience.

He was ſoon ſenſible of the diſadvantages he laboured under in a conteſt with the united power of France, and the influence of the heir to his own dominions. Ferté-Bernard fell into the hands of the enemy: Mans was next taken by aſſault; and Henry, who had thrown himſelf into that place, eſcaped with difficulty. Each day brought him accounts of the cowardice or infidelity of his governors; and his

ſpirit, ſubdued by this reverſe of fortune, ſubmitted to the rigorous terms which, under the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, were offered to him. He agreed that Richard ſhould marry the princeſs Alice, and ſhould receive the homage of all his ſubjects both in England and his tranſmarine dominions: he engaged to pay twenty thouſand marks to the king of France as a compenſation for the charges of the war; and he ſuffered his own barons to promiſe, in caſe of his violating the treaty, to join Philip and Richard againſt him.

The mortification which Henry endured in ſubſcribing theſe humiliating conditions, was increaſed by finding his fourth ſon John, who had ever been his favourite, had ſecretly entered into the unnatural confederacy that Richard had formed againſt him. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and ſorrows, finding his laſt diſappointment in his domeſtic tenderneſs, broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair; curſed the day in which he received his miſerable being; and beſtowed on his ungrateful children a malediction which he could never be prevailed on to retract. The agitation of his mind threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

The character of Henry is as amiable in private life, as it is great in public; the chief blemiſh in it ſeems to have been his attachment to the fair; and two ſons were the fruit of his amourous intercourſe with the celebrated Roſamond. In his perſon he was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong, and well proportioned: his countenance was lively and engaging; his converſation affable and entertaining; his elocution eaſy and perſuaſive. He loved peace, but poſſeſſed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity; ſevere in the execution of juſtice, without rigour; and temperate without auſterity. His affections as well as his enmities were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity

lity of man, never deſtroyed the natural ſenſibility of his temper, which diſpoſed him to friendſhip and ſociety.

This prince, like moſt of his predeceſſors of the Norman line, paſſed more of his time on the continent, than in this iſland; and as the king and all the Engliſh barons were of French extraction, the manners of that people acquired the aſcendant: and foreign improvements were tranſplanted into England; and the more homely but more ſenſible manners and principles of the Saxons were exchanged for the affectations of chivalry, and the ſubtelties of ſchool philoſophy. The feudal ideas of civil government, the Romiſh ſentiments in religion, had taken entire poſſeſſion of the people; by the former, the ſenſe of ſubmiſſion towards princes was ſomewhat diminiſhed in the barons; by the latter, the devoted attachment to papal authority was much augmented among the clergy. The Norman and other foreign families eſtabliſhed in England, had ſtruck deep root; they no longer thought they needed the protection of the crown; they aſpired to the ſame liberty and independence which they ſaw enjoyed by their brethren on the continent; and deſired to reſtrain thoſe exorbitant prerogatives, and arbitrary practices, which the neceſſities of war, and the violence of conqueſt had at firſt obliged them to indulge in their monarch.

Diſguſted by the ſpecies of military force which was eſtabliſhed by the feudal inſtitutions, Henry had introduced the practice of making a commutation of military ſervice for money: the fees which his barons and knights paid inſtead of their perſonal attendance, he employed in contracting with thoſe martial adventurers with which Europe abounded. He alſo levied a tax on the moveables or perſonal eſtates of his ſubjects, nobles as well as commons; their zeal for the holy wars made them ſubmit to this innovation; and a precedent being once obtained, this taxation became in following reigns the uſual method of ſupplying the neceſſities of the crown. The tax of danegelt, ſo

generally odious to the nation, was remitted in this reign.

Henry left only two legitimate ſons; Richard who ſucceeded him, and John, who inherited no territory; and who thence was commonly denominated *Lackland*. Of his three daughters, Maud married Henry duke of Saxony; Eleanor, Alphonſo king of Caſtile; and Iſen, William king of Sicily.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VI.

Acceſſion of Richard—Maſſacre of the Jews—His preparations for the Cruſade—Reviews his troops on the borders of Burgundy.—Tranſactions in Sicily.—War in Paleſtine.—Diſorders in England.—The king leaves Paleſtine—His captivity in Germany.—War with France.—Richard returns to England—is reconciled to his brother John—His death and character—is ſucceeded by John.—War with France.—Marriage of the king.—Murder of Arthur duke of Brittany.—The king's loſſes in France—His quarrel with the court of Rome—Interdict of the kingdom.—Excommunication of the king—His ſubmiſſion to the Pope.—Feudal ſyſtem.—Its progreſs.—Diſcontents of the barons and people.—Inſurrection of the barons.—Magna Charta.—Renewal of the civil war.—Prince Lewis called over.—Death and character of John.

ON the death of his father, Richard had expreſſed the ſtrongeſt remorſe for his former conduct; and his compunction was apparent in the choice of his miniſters and ſervants. He turned with diſguſt from thoſe who had encouraged him in his rebellion, and imparted his confidence to the faithful miniſters of Henry, who had oppoſed his ambitious projects. A. D. 1189.

The love of military glory was his ruling paſſion, and he was ardent to acquire it. By the recovery of Jeruſalem from the Saracens, his zeal againſt the infidels was communicated to his ſubjects, and broke ou on the day of his coronation. The Jews, by their induſtry and frugality, had poſſeſſed themſelves of the

ready money in England, and lent it out at exorbitant intereſt. This practice had rendered them obnoxious to the people; and ſome of them having preſumed, contrary to the orders of the king, to appear in the hall where he was crowned, they were dragged forth. A rumour was circulated, that Richard had ordered all the Jews to be maſſacred. A command ſo agreeable was inſtantly executed. Their houſes were broke open, their effects plundered, and themſelves ſlaughtered. The ſame bloody perſecution was excited againſt them in York as in London; and all enquiry was precluded, by the rank and influence of the offenders.

So melancholy a commencement of his reign, was diſregarded by Richard; intent on raiſing ſupplies for the enterpriſe he meditated. For that purpoſe he put to ſale the revenues and manors of the crown, and the offices of greateſt truſt and power. He yielded up for 10,000 marks the vaſſallage of Scotland, with the fortreſſes of Roxborough and Berwick. He ſcrupled not to declare he would ſell London itſelf, could he find a purchaſer; and having left the adminiſtration in the hands of Hugh biſhop of Durham, and of Longchamp biſhop of Ely, accompanied by all the military and turbulent ſpirits of the age, he ſet out for the frontiers of Burgundy, where he had engaged to meet the French king.

A. D. 1190. In the plains of Vezelay, Richard and Philip reviewed their forces, and repeated their vows of friendſhip. They then ſeparated; the former embarked at Marſeilles, the latter at Genoa, and nearly about the ſame time gained Meſſina, where they were detained during the winter, and where they received the firſt impreſſion of that enmity which proved fatal to their enterpriſe.

A. D. 1191. Tancred, who ruled over Sicily and Naples, was the natural ſon of William the Second, and had uſurped the ſceptre from the princeſs Conſtantia, the wife of the emperor Henry the

the Sixth, and the only legitimate ſurviving deſcendant of Roger, the firſt ſovereign of thoſe ſtates who had been honoured with the royal title. Alarmed at the approach of the cruſaders, by his addreſs he had endeavoured to conciliate both Richard and Philip; but a quarrel had ariſen between the Meſſineſe and the Engliſh; the former were chaced into their capital by the latter, and the ſtandard of England was erected, by the command of Richard, on the walls of Meſſina. Philip, who conſidered that place as his quarters, exclaimed againſt the inſult. The cruſaders were on the point of turning their ſwords againſt each other; but though this difference was accommodated, new cauſes of diſguſt occurred; Richard refuſed to conſummate his marriage with Alice; and is ſuppoſed to have urged as the reaſon, the illicit commerce of that princeſs with his father. Philip was obliged to acquieſce under this determination. The king of England eſpouſed Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre; and the two princes waving their immediate jealouſies, proceeded to the Holy Land.

The Engliſh fleet, on leaving the port of Meſſina, met with a furious tempeſt; and the ſquadron in which the two princeſſes were embarked, was driven on the coaſt of Cyprus, and ſome of the veſſels were wrecked on that iſland. Iſaac prince of Cyprus, who aſſumed the magnificent title of Emperor, pillaged the ſhips that were ſtranded, threw the ſeamen and paſſengers into priſon, and even refuſed to the princeſſes liberty, in their dangerous ſituation, of entering the harbour. But Richard, who arrived ſoon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He diſembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant, who oppoſed his landing; entered the capital by ſtorm; gained next day a ſecond victory; obliged Iſaac to ſurrender at diſcretion; and eſtabliſhed governors over the iſland. The Greek prince, being thrown into priſon, and loaded with irons, complained of the little regard with which he was treated; upon which Richard ordered ſilver fetters to be made

for him; and this emperor, pleaſed with the diſtinction, expreſſed a ſenſe of the generoſity of his conqueror.

The arrival of Philip and Richard inſpired new life into the Chriſtians; and the ſiege of Acre, which had long been formed, was preſſed with redoubled ardour. But the harmony of the chiefs was of ſhort duration; the title of king of Jeruſalem was diſputed by Guy of Luſignan, and Conrade marquis of Montferrat. The former was ſupported by Richard, the latter by Philip; and the oppoſite views of theſe great monarchs brought faction and diſſention into the Chriſtian army. The diſtreſs of the garriſon allowed them not to avail themſelves of theſe diſtractions; and famine compelled the Saracens to open at length the gates of Acre to the beſiegers.

On the ſurrender of Acre, Philip declared his reſolution of returning to France. He pleaded his bad ſtate of health as an excuſe for his deſertion of the common cauſe. He left, however, to Richard, ten thouſand troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and engaged by oath, not to commence hoſtilities againſt that prince's dominions during his abſence; but he had no ſooner reached Italy, than he applied, it is pretended, to the pope, for a diſpenſation from this vow; and when denied that requeſt, he ſtill proceeded, though ſecretly, in a project which the preſent ſituation of England rendered inviting.

An open jealouſy had broke out between Longchamp and the biſhop of Durham, whom Richard had intruſted with the adminiſtration of that kingdom. The firſt, armed with the legatine power, heſitated not to arreſt his colleague. He had ventured on this act of violence before the king had quitted Europe; and Richard, diſpleaſed with his arrogance, had appointed the archbiſhop of Rouen and the earl of Strigul his counſellors; and commanded Longchamp to undertake no meaſure of importance without their concurrence. But ſuch general terror had this man impreſſed, that the new counſellors ventured not to

produce

produce their commiſſion. Longchamp had at length the temerity to throw into priſon Geoffrey archbiſhop of York. This laſt act rouzed from his inactivity prince John, who ſummoned the guardian before a council of the nobility and prelates. Longchamp, conſcious of his guilt, fled beyond ſeas, and though deprived of his office of chancellor and juſticiary, in his quality of legate, he continued ſtill to diſturb the government. Philip not only promoted his intrigues, but entered into a correſpondence with John. He promiſed him the hand of his ſiſter Alice, and excited him to ſeize Richard's tranſmarine dominions; and that turbulent prince was only prevented by the vigilance of the queen dowager, and the menaces of the council, from croſſing the ſeas, to kindle the flames of civil war. A. D. 1192.

In the mean time, Richard was gathering laurels in the eaſt. The aſſaſſination of the marquis of Montferrat afforded Philip an opportunity of aſperſing the character of a rival, whoſe martial achievements he was incapable of emulating. Though it was well known in Paleſtine, that the marquis had fallen a victim to the reſentment of a petty prince of Aſia, commonly called *The Old Man of the Mountain*; yet Philip heſitated not to impute the murder to the king of England. The heroic actions of Richard were the beſt apology for his conduct. He defeated Saladin, with the ſlaughter of forty thouſand infidels; he recovered Aſcalon, and advanced within ſight of Jeruſalem; but long abſence, fatigue and want, had abated the ardour of the cruſaders. Every one, except the king of England, expreſſed a deſire of returning into Europe. Richard was forced to yield to their importunities; and he concluded a truce with Saladin, by which the chriſtians were left in poſſeſſion of Acre, and were allowed a free pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. A. D. 1192.

As Richard, acquainted with the intrigues of Philip, dared not, on his return, paſs through France, he ſailed therefore to the Adriatic; and being ſhip-

wrecked

wrecked near Aquileia, endeavoured, in diſguiſe, to purſue his route through Germany. At Vienna he was arreſted by the orders of the duke of Auſtria, to whom he had given ſome diſguſt at the ſiege of Acre, and by that prince was ſold to the emperor Henry VI. who affected to conſider him as an enemy, on account of the alliance he had contracted with Tancred king of Sicily.

A.D. 1193, 1194. While Richard, whoſe renown had filled the world, languiſhed in a dungeon, loaded with irons, the king of France prepared to avail himſelf of his misfortunes. Amidſt the general diſtraction which the intelligence had occaſioned in England, prince John had eſcaped to the continent, and had concluded a treaty with Philip, by which he ſtipulated to deliver to the latter a great part of Normandy, and received in return the inveſtiture of all Philip's tranſmarine dominions.

Philip immediately invaded Normandy; but though, by the treachery of John's adherents, he was admitted into Giſors, Pacey, and Ivreé, and over-run the counties of Eu and Aumale, he was, by the gallantry of the earl of Leiceſter, repulſed from the walls of Rouen; nor was John more ſucceſsful in his attempt in England. Though he made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Windſor and Wallingford, he found the barons and people every where averſe to him. He was obliged to retire again to France, where both he and Philip ſhortly after concluded a truce with the regency of England.

Meanwhile, Richard, in Germany, ſuffered every kind of inſult and indignity; he was accuſed of the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, and was produced as a criminal before the diet of Worms. But his ſpirits were unbroken by adverſity; he obſerved, that the whole tenor of his life ſhewed him incapable of a baſe aſſaſſination; and he vindicated himſelf with an eloquence that deeply impreſſed the German princes. They loudly exclaimed againſt the emperor. Their remonſtrances were ſeconded by the pope, who could

could not refuſe to interpoſe in behalf of a prince who ſtill bore the honourable badge of the croſs. Henry yielded to their united influence, and conſented to reſtore Richard to his freedom, for the ſum of 150,000 marks, or 300,000l. of our preſent money.

Part of this was to be immediately paid, and for the reſt, hoſtages were to be given. A. D. 1194. 1199. The captivity of the ſuperior lord was one of the caſes provided for by the feudal tenures; and all the vaſſals were in that event obliged to give an aid for his ranſom. Twenty ſhillings was therefore levied on each knight's fee in England. With the requiſite ſum, queen Eleanor and the archbiſhop of Rouen ſet out for Germany, paid an hundred thouſand marks to the emperor and duke of Auſtria, and delivered hoſtages for the reſt; and Richard, reſtored to freedom, in a rapid journey, and proſperous navigation, reached England, and was crowned anew at Wincheſter, as if he intended to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity.

As ſoon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance, he wrote to his confederate John in theſe terms: *Take care of yourſelf—the devil is broken looſe.* The latter was, however, anxious to diſengage himſelf from an aſſociate whoſe fortunes ſeemed declining. Richard had compelled the king of France to raiſe the ſiege of Verneüil; had made himſelf maſter of Loches and Beaumont, and had routed the French cavalry at Fretteval. John threw himſelf at the feet, and implored the mercy of his victorious brother. *I forgive you,* ſaid the king, *and hope I ſhall as eaſily forget your injuries, as you will my pardon.* Yet John was incapable of returning to his duty without committing a baſeneſs; and when he delivered to his brother, Evreux, which had been intruſted to him by the king of France, he inhumanly maſſacred the garriſon.

During five years from the return of Richard, the mutual weakneſs and enmity of the kings of France and England engaged them in a ſeries of faithleſs negociations, and deſultory warfare; and the cardinal of St.

St. Mary, the pope's legate, had endeavoured to change a truce for five years, into a more durable peace, when the deſign was broken by the death of Richard.

To extort from Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, a treaſure which he had found, Richard, as ſuperior lord, had beſieged that nobleman in the caſtle of Chalos. As he approached to ſurvey the works, one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the aſſault, took the place, and hanged all the garriſon, except Gourdon, whom he reſerved for a more cruel fate.

The wound was rendered mortal by the unſkifulneſs of the ſurgeon; and the king, ſenſible that he was drawing near an end, ſent for Gourdon: "*Wretch*, (ſaid he) *what have I ever done to you, to induce you to ſeek my life?*"—"*You have* (replied the priſoner) *killed, with your own hands, my father and my two brothers—I am now in your power—you may inflict the ſevereſt torments on me, but I ſhall endure them with pleaſure, provided I can think I have been ſo happy as to rid the world of ſuch a nuiſance.*" The mind of Richard was ſoftened by the approach of death; he acknowledged the magnanimity of Gourdon; he ordered him to be releaſed, and a ſum of money to be given to him; but one of his generals, unknown to him, ſeized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him.

Richard died in the tenth year of his reign, and forty-ſecond of his age. Though ſome marks of his poetical genius remain, and he was ranked among the *Troubadores*, the moſt ſhining part of his character are his military talents; and his perſonal courage and intrepidity gained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or *the Lion-hearted*. He left behind him no iſſue; and, by his laſt will, he declared John heir to all his dominions, though by a formal deed, before he embarked on the holy war, he had named, as his ſucceſſor,

ſucceſſor, his nephew, Arthur duke of Britanny, the ſon of Geoffrey, the elder brother of John.

The king of France, and the barons of the tranſmarine provinces, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of Arthur, though only a child of twelve years old. But John, after being acknowledged in Normandy and England, prepared to carry on the war vigorouſly againſt his nephew. Nothing enabled him to bring it to an happy iſſue ſo much, as the ſelfiſh intriguing character of Philip, who, by the authority he exerciſed in the provinces which had declared for Arthur, awakened the jealouſy of Conſtantia, the mother of that prince. More apprehenſive of a faithleſs ally than of an open enemy, ſhe ſecretly carried off her ſon from Paris, put him into the hands of his uncle, reſtored the provinces which had adhered to him, and made him do homage for the dutchy of Britanny, which was regarded as a fief of Normandy. A. D. 1199.

As Philip, after this incident, could not expect to carry on the war with ſucceſs, he conſented to a treaty with John, in which the limits of their territories were adjuſted; and, to render their union more permanent, the king of England gave his niece, Blanche of Caſtile, in marriage to prince Lewis, Philip's eldeſt ſon, and with her the baronies of Iſſoudun and Graçai, and other fiefs in Berri.

Thus ſecure, as he imagined, on the ſide of France, John indulged his paſſion for Iſabella, the daughter of the count of Angouleme. Though his queen was ſtill alive, and Iſabella was betrothed to the count of Marche, the ardour of the king overcame every obſtacle; he prevailed on the count of Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her huſband; and having procured a divorce from his wife, he eſpouſed Iſabella, regardleſs of the menaces of the pope. A. D. 1200.

The reſentment of the count of Marche, ſecretly excited to arms the malcontents of Poictou and Normandy; and when John A. D. 1201, 1203.

croſſed

croſſed the ſeas, he found he had not only his own ſubjects to contend with, but the power of France. Dangers multiplied on every ſide; his barons were diſaffected, and the duke of Britanny, who was riſing to man's eſtate, joined the king of France and the revolted nobles. Impatient of military renown, he had entered Poictou with a ſmall army, and had inveſted the queen dowager Eleanor, in Mirabeau, when he was ſurpriſed in his camp by John, his troops diſperſed, and himſelf made priſoner.

Having in vain endeavoured to perſuade his nephew to renounce the French alliance, the king determined to put him to death. The circumſtances that attended this crime are enveloped in darkneſs. According to the moſt probable account, John ſent a ruffian with the bloody commiſſion, to the caſtle of Falaiſe; but Hubert, conſtable of the caſtle, feigning he would execute the mandate himſelf, iſſued the report that the young prince was dead. Finding the Britons reſolved to avenge his murder, he thought it prudent to avow, that the duke of Britanny was ſtill alive. This diſcovery proved fatal to the young prince. John removed him to the caſtle of Rouen; and coming thither in the night time, commanded him to be brought before him. Arthur, aware of his danger, and ſubdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, begged for mercy; but the tyrant making no reply, ſtabbed him with his own hands, and threw his body into the Seine.

All men were ſtruck with horror at this cruel deed; and as John had in his hands Eleanor, the ſiſter to Arthur, the Britons choſe for their ſovereign Alice, the younger daughter of Conſtantia by a ſecond marriage. They ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Philip, who received their application with pleaſure, ſummoned John to a trial; and on his non-appearance, declared him to have forfeited to his ſuperior lord all his fiefs in France.

This was not an empty threat. Philip extended his conqueſts along the banks of the Loire, while

John conſumed his hours in paſtimes and amuſements in Rouen. *Let the French go on*, ſaid he, *I will retake in a day what it has coſt them years to acquire.* Yet inſtead of fulfilling his vaunt, he meanly claimed the protection of the Roman pontiff. But Philip was not to be ſtopped by the authority of the ſee of Rome. Inſtead of retiring at the command of the pope's legates, he laid ſiege to Chateau Gaillard, the moſt conſiderable fortreſs on the frontiers of Normandy. It was defended for above a twelvemonth, by Roger de Laci, with great vigour; but the earl of Pembroke was repulſed in an attempt to relieve it, and the garriſon were overpowered in a night aſſault. After the bulwark of Normandy was ſubdued, the whole province lay open to the invaders. Rouen alone maintained ſome reſiſtance, and the citizens demanded thirty days to advertiſe their prince of their danger. Upon the expiration of that term they opened their gates; and Philip, not ſatisfied with this acquiſition, carried his victorious arms into the weſtern provinces, and ſoon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou. A. D. 1204, 1205.

To recover his tranſmarine dominions, John had landed with a conſiderable army at Rochelle; but on the approach of Philip, he deſerted his troops, and returned to England covered with ſhame. In an age when perſonal valour was regarded as the chief accompliſhment, ſuch conduct in a ſovereign expoſed him to peculiar contempt; and though he obtained a ſhort reſpite from war, by a truce for two years with the French monarch, that interval was ſtill more diſgraceful to him, by the encroachments and arrogance of the church. A. D. 1206.

Innocent the Third, who then filled the papal chair, was of a lofty and enterpriſing genius; he availed himſelf of a diſpute which had ariſen from an irregular election for the ſee of Canterbury, and claimed himſelf the right of nominating the primate of England. He commanded the monks or canons of Chriſt-church, who had hi- A. D. 1207, 1212.

therto poſſeſſed that important privilege, to chooſe, on pain of excommunication, cardinal Langton, an Engliſhman by birth, but attached to the ſee of Rome. In vain the monks repreſented, that an election, without a previous writ from the king, would be highly irregular. One only had the courage to perſevere in his oppoſition; and the reſt, overcome by the menaces of the pope, complied with his wiſhes.

John was inflamed with the utmoſt rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome; he expelled from the monaſtery the prior and the monks of Chriſt-church, and ordered them to depart the kingdom; when threatened with the reſentment of Innocent, he burſt out into violent invectives, and ſwore that if the pope preſumed to lay his kingdom under an interdict, he would ſend to him all the biſhops and clergy in England, and confiſcate all their eſtates; theſe ſallies of paſſion were far from ſhaking the reſolution of the Roman pontiff, who, ſenſible that the king had loſt the confidence of his people, after ſome delay, fulminated againſt him the ſentence of interdict.

The execution of that ſentence was calculated to ſtrike with irriſiſtible force the ſenſes of a ſuperſtitious people. The nation was of a ſudden deprived of all exterior exerciſe of its religion; the altars were deſpoiled of their ornaments; maſs was celebrated with ſhut doors, and none but the prieſts were admitted to that holy inſtitution; the dead, inſtead of being interred in conſecrated ground, were thrown into ditches, or buried in the common fields; marriage was ſolemnized in the church-yards; and every circumſtance carried ſymptoms of the deepeſt diſtreſs, and of the moſt immediate apprehenſion of divine vengeance.

The king, that he might oppoſe *his* temporal to *their* ſpiritual terrors, confiſcated the eſtates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict; he treated with the utmoſt rigour all Langton's adherents, and every one that ſhowed any diſpoſition to obey the commands of Rome.

Rome. Though ſome of the clergy yielded to his threats, and celebrated divine ſervice, they complied with reluctance, and were regarded both by themſelves and the people, as men who ſacrificed their conſciences to temporal intereſts.

During this violent ſituation the king attempted military expeditions againſt Scotland, againſt Ireland, and againſt the Welch; and he commonly prevailed more from the weakneſs of his enemies, than his own vigour or abilities; but the luſtre of theſe enterpriſes was obſcured by the tyranny of his government; he inſulted his nobles, diſhonoured their families by his licentious amours; and, conſcious of their hatred, obliged them to deliver to him their ſons, or neareſt relations, as hoſtages for their allegiance.

But the reſentment of the court of Rome ſtill impended over his head; and as the ſentence of interdict had not produced the deſired effect, the pope proceeded to that of excommunication. John, alarmed at this ſtep, offered to acknowledge Langton as Primate, and to reſtore the exiled clergy; but Langton inſiſted on full reparation for the rents of their confiſcated eſtates; and the king, foreſeeing this eſtimation of damages might amount to an immenſe ſum, broke off the conference. A.D. 1213.

Innocent determined no longer to keep any meaſures with him; he abſolved his ſubjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance; he declared him to have forfeited, by his contumacy, his crown; and as this ſentence required an armed force to execute it, he caſt his eyes on the king of France, and offered to him the property and poſſeſſion of the kingdom of England.

Though it was the common intereſt of all princes to reſiſt the exorbitant pretenſions of the Roman pontiff, Philip could not withſtand this tempting prize. He levied a great army, and collected in the ports of Normandy and Picardy 1700 veſſels. To oppoſe him, John aſſembled at Dover ſixty thouſand men; a force ſufficient, had they been animated with zeal; but the minds of the common people were impreſſed by

ſuperſtition; and thoſe of the barons alienated by the arrogance of the tyrant. The difficulties of John were augmented by his cowardice and incapacity. Inſtead of braving, he reſolved to yield to the tempeſt; and in a conference with Pandulf, the Pope's legate, he acquieſced in all the exorbitant demands of Innocent. He promiſed to acknowledge Langton for Primate; to reſtore the exiled clergy; to make them full reſtitution of their goods, and compenſation for their damages, and to receive into favour every one who had been outlawed or impriſoned for his adherence to the Pope,

But the ignominy of the king was not yet carried to its full height. Pandulf required him, as the proof of his obedience, to reſign his kingdom to the church. Under the agonies of fear, John paſſed a charter, in which he declared he had, for the remiſſion of his own ſins, reſigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent, and his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair. He agreed to hold thoſe dominions as feudatories of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thouſand marks. He did homage to Pandulf in the moſt abject manner; he came diſarmed into the legate's preſence, who was ſeated on a throne; he flung himſelf on his knees before him; he ſwore fealty to the Pope; and he paid part of the tribute, which he owed for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter. The legate, elated by the triumph of ſacerdotal power, could not forbear diſcovering extravagant ſymptoms of exultation; and he even trampled on the money that was laid at his feet, as an earneſt of the ſubjection of the kingdom.

Amidſt his diſgrace, John ſtill diſplayed the ſame diſpoſition to tyranniſe over his ſubjects. One Peter of Pomfret, an hermit, had foretold that the king, this very year ſhould loſe his crown; John determined to puniſh him as an impoſtor; and though the man pleaded that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had loſt the royal and independent crown which he formerly wore, the defence was ſuppoſed to aggravate

aggravate his guilt; he was dragged at horſes tails, and hanged on a gibbet with his ſon.

Yet the baſeneſs of the king had not entirely delivered him from danger; Philip heard with indignation that England was placed under the protection of the ſee of Rome; he complained of being fruſtrated in an expedition which had coſt him above ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling; and he declared his intentions to perſevere, notwithſtanding the inhibitions of the legate; but the vigour and activity of the earl of Saliſbury, John's natural brother, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, was more effectual than the menaces of Pandulf; he ſurpriſed the French veſſels in their harbours; and by the deſtruction of the greater part of them, compelled Philip to abandon the enterpriſe.

The church had recalled the ſeveral anathemas pronounced againſt John; but the interdict was not taken off until forty thouſand marks were paid to the clergy as a compenſation for the injury they had ſuſtained; and the king, at the time he made this reparation, renewed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, and by a new charter ſealed with gold, his profeſſions of homage and obedience to the ſee of Rome.

From the province of Poictou, which acknowledged his authority, John attempted to penetrate into France; but A. D. 1214. the intelligence of the deciſive victory which Philip obtained at Bovines over 150,000 Germans, led by the emperor Otho, inſpired him with humbler thoughts; his hopes were confined to ruling peaceably over England: but even this was denied him; and a more humiliating ſcene of calamity ſtill awaited him.

When the northern nations ſubdued the Roman provinces, the lands that were wreſted from the former poſſeſſors by the ſword, were equally divided among the conquerors; and this diviſion of property introduced a ſpecies of government, formerly unknown,

and now diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Feudal Syſtem.

The ground which the ſoldier ſeized by force, or acquired by lot, he retained without either homage or acknowledgement; he enjoyed it during his own life, and could diſpoſe of it at pleaſure; this tenure was called *allodial*, and implied the independence of the poſſeſſor, who held the entire property and dominion, without performing ſervice, or owning any ſubordination to a ſuperior lord; but as theſe new poſſeſſors were expoſed to the reſentment of the ancient inhabitants, it became neceſſary they ſhould acquieſce in certain obligations for the protection of community; and every freeman who refuſed to arm in the common cauſe, was liable to a conſiderable penalty: theſe penalties could not be executed while property continued in its firſt ſtate, and military ſervice was entirely voluntary: but the nature of the tenure was inſenſibly changed; and military ſervice was the condition on which each perſon held his allodial lands.

The eſtates, which were held as *fiefs*, were conſidered as leſs honourable and advantageous than thoſe that were allodial; they conſiſted in lands granted by the prince to his barons, who parcelled them out to their vaſſals, and might reſume them at pleaſure. The poſſeſſor, ſo long as he enjoyed them, was to be ready to take the field at the command of his ſuperior lord; but as it ſeemed equitable, that he who had cultivated and ſowed ſhould reap the harveſt, fiefs which were at firſt precarious became annual. A man who had employed his money in improvements expected to enjoy the fruits of his expence; hence they were granted for a term of years. It was thought hard to expel from his poſſeſſions, a man who had always done his duty; hence aroſe the grant of fiefs for life; and as it was found that a man would expoſe himſelf more willingly in battle, if his lands were ſecured to his heirs, fiefs were gradually made hereditary in families.

In theſe ſucceſſive acquiſitions, the chief was ſupported by his vaſſals: while he advanced new pretenſions to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the ſuperior fief, they expected to find the ſame advantage, in acquiring ſtability to their ſubordinate ones; they zealouſly oppoſed the intruſion of a new lord, who would be inclined to beſtow the poſſeſſion of their lands on his own favourites and retainers. Thus the authority of the ſovereign gradually decayed; and each noble, fortified in his own territory by the attachment of his vaſſals, became too powerful to be expelled by an order from the throne.

The northern nations had no idea, that any man inured to arms, was ever to be governed without his own conſent, by the abſolute will of another: the king therefore, when he found it neceſſary to demand any ſervice of his barons or chief tenants, was obliged to aſſemble them in order to obtain their conſent. The caſe was the ſame with the barons, who in any queſtion that regarded the barony, found it neceſſary to conſult their vaſſals; but though the reſemblance ſo far took place, the vaſſals fell into a greater ſubordination under the baron, than the baron under his ſovereign. The great chief reſiding in his country ſeat, which he was commonly allowed to fortify, loſt in a great meaſure his connection with the prince, and added new force to his authority over his vaſſals: they received from him education in all military exerciſes; his hoſpitality invited them to live and enjoy ſociety in his hall; his favour was their honour, his contempt their ignominy; it was only by the protection of their chief they could be defended from the inſults of the neighbouring barons; and the neceſſity of that protection threw them into a ſervile dependence on him.

Theſe concurring cauſes gave the feudal ſyſtem ſo ſtrong a bias towards ariſtocracy, that the royal authority was extremely eclipſed in moſt of the European ſtates. But when the conqueſt of England was atchieved by William, the neceſſity of intruſting great

power in the hands of a prince who was to maintain a military dominion over a vanquiſhed nation, had engaged the Norman barons to ſubmit to a more ſevere and abſolute prerogative, than that to which men of their rank were commonly ſubjected; and England during a courſe of an hundred and fifty years was governed by an authority unknown in the ſame degree, to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Henry I. that he might allure the people to give an excluſion to his elder brother Robert, had granted them a charter favourable in many particulars to their liberties; Stephen had renewed the grant; Henry II. had confirmed it; but the conceſſions of all theſe princes had ſtill remained without effect, when John, equally odious and contemptible, both in public and private life, by his luſt and inſolence enraged his barons, and by his endleſs exactions and impoſitions, provoked the people to form a general confederacy and vindicate their rights by arms.

Nothing forwarded this confederacy ſo much as the concurrence of Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury; a man, whoſe memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the ſee of Rome, ought always to be reſpected by the Engliſh. This prelate formed the plan of reforming the government, and prepared the way for it, by inſerting a clauſe in the oath which he adminiſtered to the king, before he would abſolve him from excommunication, *that he would re-eſtabliſh the good laws of his predeceſſors, and aboliſh the wicked ones; and maintain juſtice and right in all his dominions.* Soon after, he ſhewed to ſome of the barons a copy of the charter of Henry I. and adviſed them to inſiſt on the renewal of it. The barons ſwore they would loſe their lives ſooner than deſiſt from ſo reaſonable a demand: the confederacy ſpread wider; a more numerous meeting was ſummoned at St. Edmond's Bury, under colour of devotion; and the members, inflamed by the eloquence of Langton, and incited by the ſenſe of their own wrongs, took an oath before the altar, to adhere to each other,

and

and to make endleſs war on the king until he ſhould ſubmit to their demands.

A. D. 1215. On an appointed day, after having prepared themſelves to maintain their engagements by arms, they appeared in London, and required the king, in conſequence of his oath before the primate, to renew the charter of Henry, and confirm the laws of St. Edward; a delay was aſked, and granted; and the interval was employed by John to influence the pope in his favour. Innocent, who foreſaw that if the adminiſtration fell into the hands of an high-ſpirited nobility they would vindicate the independence of their country, while he adviſed the king to grant ſuch demands as ſhould appear reaſonable, expreſſed his diſapprobation of the conduct of the barons, and exhorted the prelates to interpoſe, to put an end to civil diſcord.

The barons heard, with more indifference than might have been expected, the diſpleaſure of the court of Rome; the menaces of the Vatican, unleſs ſeconded by the Engliſh eccleſiaſtics, appeared not formidable; and many cauſes concurred to looſen the attachment of the latter to the apoſtolic ſee. The pope aſſumed a deſpotic power over all the churches; their cuſtoms and immunities were treated with diſdain: the whole adminiſtration of the church was centered in the court of Rome; all preferments ran of courſe in the ſame channel; and the provincial clergy felt the neceſſity of limiting theſe pretenſions.

The mal-content barons, acquainted with theſe circumſtances, were not deterred by Innocent's letters from purſuing their deſigns; as ſoon as the time they had granted to the king was expired, they met at Stamford, and then collected their forces, conſiſting of above two thouſand knights, beſides retainers and inferior perſons without number; elated with their power they advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, the place where the court then reſided; and ſent to the king a ſchedule containing their principal demands. John had no ſooner

peruſed it, than he burſt into a furious paſſion, ſwearing he would never grant ſuch liberties as muſt reduce himſelf to ſlavery.

The confederated nobles, informed of his anſwer, determined to rely on their ſwords, and commenced their operations; they beſieged the caſtle of Northampton, were admitted into that of Bedford, occupied Ware, and entered into London without oppoſition; they laid waſte the royal parks and palaces, and compelled the other barons to join them on pain of ravaging their eſtates. So formidable were their menaces, and ſo univerſal the diſaffection, that the king was left at Odiham in Hampſhire with a poor retinue of only ſeven knights; and after in vain offering to refer all differences to the pope, he found himſelf at laſt obliged to ſubmit at diſcretion.

It was at Runnimede, between Windſor and Staines, a ſpot which will ever be celebrated in hiſtory, that a conference took place between John and his martial barons. After a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility ſomewhat ſuſpicious, ſigned and ſealed the famous deed called the GREAT CHARTER, which granted or ſecured very important liberties to the clergy, the barons, and the people.

The freedom of elections was ſecured to the clergy: the former charter of the king was confirmed, by which the neceſſity of a royal congé d'elire and confirmation was ſuperſeded: all check upon appeals to Rome was removed, by the allowance granted every man to depart the kingdom at pleaſure: and the fines to be impoſed on the clergy, for any offence, were ordained to be proportional to their lay eſtates, not to their eccleſiaſtical benefices.

The privileges granted to the barons were either abatements in the rigour of the feudal law, or determinations in points which had been left by that law, or had become by practice, arbitrary and ambiguous. The reliefs of heirs ſucceeding to a military fee were aſcertained; an earl's and baron's at an hundred marks, a knight's at an hundred ſhillings. It was ordained

ordained by the charter, that, if the heir be a minor, he ſhall, immediately on his majority, enter upon his eſtate, without paying any relief: The king ſhall not ſell his wardſhip: he ſhall levy only reaſonable profits upon the eſtate, without committing waſte, or hurting the property: he ſhall uphold the caſtles, houſes, mills, parks, and ponds: and if he commit the guardianſhip of the eſtate to the ſheriff or any other, he ſhall previouſly oblige them to find ſurety to the ſame purpoſe. During the minority of a baron, while his lands are in wardſhip, and are not in his own poſſeſſion, no debt which he owes to the Jews ſhall bear any intereſt. Heirs ſhall be married without diſparagement; and before the marriage be contracted, the neareſt relations of the perſon ſhall be informed of it. A widow, without paying any relief, ſhall enter upon her dower the third part of her huſband's rents: ſhe ſhall not be compelled to marry, ſo long as ſhe chuſes to continue ſingle; ſhe ſhall only give ſecurity never to marry without her lord's conſent. The king ſhall not claim the wardſhip of any minor who holds lands by military tenure of a baron, on pretence that he alſo holds lands of the crown, by ſocage or any other tenure. Scutages ſhall be eſtimated at the ſame rate as in the time of Henry I.; and no ſcutage or aid, except in the three general feudal caſes, the king's captivity, the knighting of his eldeſt ſon, and the marrying of his eldeſt daughter, ſhall be impoſed, but by the great council of the kingdom; the prelates, earls, and great barons, ſhall be called to this great council, each by a particular writ; the leſſer barons by a general ſummons of the ſheriff. The king ſhall not ſeize any baron's land for a debt to the crown, if the baron poſſeſſes as many goods and chattels as are ſufficient to diſcharge the debt. No man ſhall be obliged to perform more ſervice for his fee than he is bound to by his tenure. No governor or conſtable of a caſtle ſhall oblige any knight to give money for caſtle-guard, if the knight be willing

willing to perform the ſervice in perſon, or by another able-bodied man; and if the knight be in the field himſelf, by the king's command, he ſhall be exempted from all other ſervice of this nature. No vaſſal ſhall be allowed to ſell ſo much of his land as to incapacitate himſelf from performing his ſervice to his lord.

Theſe were the principal articles, calculated for the intereſt of the barons; and had the charter contained nothing farther, national happineſs and liberty had been very little promoted by it, as it would only have tended to increaſe the power and independence of an order of men who were already too powerful, and whoſe yoke might have become more heavy on the people than even that of an abſolute monarch. But the barons, who alone drew and impoſed on the prince this memorable charter, were neceſſitated to inſert in it, other clauſes of a more extenſive and more beneficent nature: they could not expect the concurrence of the people, without comprehending, together with their own, all the intereſts of inferior ranks of men; and all proviſions which the barons, for their own ſake, were obliged to make, in order to enſure the free and equitable adminiſtration of juſtice, tended directly to the benefit of the whole community. The following were the principal clauſes of this nature.

It was ordained, that all the privileges and immunities above mentioned, granted to the barons againſt the king, ſhould be extended by the barons to their inferior vaſſals. The king bound himſelf not to grant any writ, empowering a baron to levy aid from his vaſſals, except in the three feudal caſes. One weight and one meaſure ſhall be eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom. Merchants ſhall be allowed to tranſact all buſineſs, without being expoſed to any arbitrary tolls and impoſitions: they and all free men ſhall be allowed to go out of the kingdom and return to it at pleaſure: London, and all cities and burghs, ſhall preſerve their ancient liberties, immunities, and free cuſtoms: aids ſhall not be required of them but by the conſent of the

the great council: No towns or individuals ſhall be obliged to make or ſupport bridges but by ancient cuſtom: the goods of every freeman ſhall be diſpoſed of according to his will: if he die inteſtate, his heirs ſhall ſucceed to them. No officer of the crown ſhall take any horſes, carts, or wood, without the conſent of the owner. The king's courts of juſtice ſhall be ſtationary, and ſhall no longer follow his perſon: they ſhall be open to every one; and juſtice ſhall no longer be ſold, refuſed, or delayed by them. Circuits ſhall be regularly held every year: the inferior tribunal of juſtice, the county court, ſheriff's torn and court-leet, ſhall meet at their appointed time and place: The ſheriffs ſhall be incapacitated to hold pleas of the crown; and ſhall not put any perſon upon his trial, from rumour or ſuſpicion alone, but upon the evidence of lawful witneſſes. No freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned, or diſpoſſeſſed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or baniſhed, or any wiſe hurt or injured, unleſs by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and all who ſuffered otherwiſe, in this or the two former reigns, ſhall be reſtored to their rights and poſſeſſions. Every freeman ſhall be fined in proportion to his fault; and no fine ſhall be levied on him to his utter ruin: even a villain or ruſtic ſhall not, by any fine, be betrayed of his carts, ploughs, and implements of huſbandry. This was the only article calculated for the intereſts of this body of men, probably at that time the moſt numerous in the kingdom.

The latter articles of Magna Charta appear to have been chiefly the laws of king Edward, which the Engliſh nation had during ſo many generations obſtinately perſevered in demanding. To ſecure the execution of the charter, London was left in the hands of the barons, and the Tower was conſigned to the cuſtody of the primate. With the conſent of the king, the confederates choſe from their own body, twenty-five members as conſervators of the public liberties,

to

to whoſe authority no bounds were ſet either in extent or duration. All men throughout the kingdom were obliged, under the penalty of confiſcation, to ſwear obedience to them: twelve knights from each county, choſen by the freeholders, were to make reports of ſuch evil cuſtoms as required redreſs, conformable to the tenor of the great charter; and this ſeems a very ſtrong proof that the houſe of commons was not then in being, ſince the knights and burgeſſes who compoſed it would have given into the lords a liſt of grievances, without ſo unuſual an election.

John, in appearance, ſubmitted to all theſe regulations, however injurious to majeſty; but he only awaited a proper opportunity for annulling all his conceſſions. In the retirement of the Iſle of Wight, he meditated the moſt fatal vengeance againſt his enemies. He ſecretly ſent abroad his emiſſaries to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his ſervice; he diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome, to complain before that tribunal of the violence impoſed upon him; and Innocent conſidering himſelf as feudal lord of the kingdom, iſſued a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him, to build and deſtroy kingdoms, he annulled the whole charter; he prohibited the barons from exacting the obſervance of it; he prohibited the king from paying any regard to it; and he pronounced a general ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould perſevere in maintaining ſuch iniquitous pretenſions.

Under the ſanction of this bull, John, as ſoon as he had collected his foreign forces, threw off the maſk; though the ſpiritual weapon was of little force, ſince the primate refuſed to publiſh the ſentence of excommunication, the ſwords of the Brabançons were more effectual. The barons, enticed into a fatal ſecurity, had taken no rational meaſures for re-aſſembling their forces; the king was maſter of the field: his rapacious mercenaries were let looſe againſt the eſtates,

the

the tenants, the houſes, and parks of the nobility; nothing was to be ſeen but the flames of villages and caſtles reduced to aſhes, and the conſternation and miſery of the inhabitants; and the king marching through the whole extent of England from Dover to Berwick, laid the provinces waſte on each ſide of him, conſidering every ſtate as the object of his military execution, which was not his immediate property.

The barons, reduced to this deſperate extremity, employed a remedy no leſs deſ- A. D. 1216. perate, and offered the king of France to acknowledge Lewis, his eldeſt ſon, as their ſovereign, provided he would protect them from the violence of the tyrant. They affirmed, that John had already depoſed himſelf by doing homage to the pope; and as Blanche of Caſtile, the wife of Lewis, was deſcended by her brother from Henry II. they maintained, though many ſtood before her in the order of ſucceſſion, that they had not ſhaken off the royal family, in chuſing her huſband for their ſovereign.

Though the proſpect of ſuch a prize rendered Philip regardleſs to the menaces of the court of Rome, which threatened him with excommunication if he attacked a prince under the protection of the holy ſee, yet he refuſed to intruſt his ſon and heir to the caprice of the Engliſh barons, without ſome pledge for his ſafety; he demanded of them twenty-five of the moſt illuſtrious nobles; and no ſooner had he received theſe hoſtages, then he ſent over Lewis with a numerous army.

The firſt effect of that young prince's appearance in England was the deſertion of John's foreign troops, who being moſtly levied in Flanders, refuſed to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy. The barons either haſtened to join the ſtandard of Lewis, or threw open to him the gates of their caſtles. Dover alone reſiſted his arms. But the union between the Engliſh and the French was of ſhort duration; the preference of Lewis to the latter, excited ſoon the jealouſly of the former.

former. A French nobleman, the viſcount Melun, as it is ſaid, revealed alſo on his death bed, to ſome of the Engliſh barons, who were his friends, the ſecret intentions of Lewis to exterminate them and their families. This ſtory was univerſally reported and believed: ſeveral of the nobles again deſerted to John's party; and the French prince had reaſon to dread a ſudden reverſe of fortune: the king with a conſiderable army was advancing towards him; but paſſing from Lynn to Lincolnſhire, his road lay along the ſea ſhore, which was overflowed at high water; and not chuſing the proper time for his journey, he loſt in the inundation all his carriages, treaſure, baggage, and regalia. The affliction for this diſaſter, and vexation from the diſtracted ſtate of affairs, increaſed the ſickneſs under which he then laboured; and though he reached the caſtle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, and his diſtemper ſoon put an end to his life: he expired in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign; leaving two legitimate ſons, Henry and Richard, the eldeſt of whom was only nine years old.

The character of this prince, is a complication of vices equally mean and odious; cowardice, levity, licentiouſneſs, ingratitude, treachery, and cruelty. It is hard to ſay whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his ſubjects, was moſt culpable; he loſt by his miſconduct the flouriſhing provinces of France, the ancient patrimony of his family; he ſubjected his kingdom to a ſhameful vaſſalage under the ſee of Rome: he ſaw the prerogatives of his crown, diminiſhed by law, and ſtill more by faction; and he died when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life miſerably in priſon, or ſeeking ſhelter as a fugitive from the purſuit of his enemies.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VII.

Settlement of the government.—Defeat of the French.—General pacification.—Death of the protector.—Domeſtic commotions.—Hubert de Burgh diſplaced.—The Biſhop of Wincheſter miniſter.—King's partiality to foreigners.—Public grievances.—Extortions of the ſee of Rome.—Affairs of Sicily.—Earl of Cornwall elected king of the Romans.—Diſcontent of the Barons.—Simon de Montfort earl of Leiceſter.—Proviſions of Oxford.—Uſurpations of the barons.—Prince Edward.—Civil wars.—Reference to the king of France.—Renewal of the civil wars.—Battle of Lewes.—Houſe of commons.—Battle of Eveſham.—Death and character of Leiceſter.—Clemency of the king.—Prince Edward ſails to the holy land.—Death and character of Henry.—Price of wheat.—Oppreſſion of the Jews.—Abolition of the Ordeal.

THE tender years of Henry III. and the diſtraction of England, required at the helm of ſtate an experienced and diſintereſted ſtateſman; and fortunately for the prince, as well as the kingdom in general, the title and authority of protector of the realm, was, in a council of the barons, conferred on the earl of Pembroke. A. D. 1216, 1222.

That nobleman had maintained his loyalty unſhaken, during the loweſt fortune of John; and was not diſmayed by the dangers which aſſailed the throne of his ſon. That he might reconcile all men to the government of his pupil, he made him grant a new charter of liberties; this was in ſome meaſure altered from

the former; the objection to which John had ſubjected himſelf of obtaining the conſent of the great council before he levied any aids upon the nation, was left to future deliberation; nor were the full privileges of elections in the clergy, and the liberty of going out of the kingdom without the royal approbation, confirmed. But it was followed by a charter of foreſts; which declared offences committed in the kings foreſts no longer capital, but only puniſhable by more gentle penalties, as fine and impriſonment: and which reſtored to all proprietors of land the power of cutting and uſing their wood.

The ſatisfaction which theſe charters diffuſed was ſoon felt by Lewis; the perſonal reſentment of the barons to John were buried with him in the grave; their jealouſy of their new allies had daily increaſed; a large detachment of the French had been routed near Lincoln; and their fleet had ſuffered a conſiderable defeat off the coaſt of Kent. Theſe events determined the mal-contents, by an early ſubmiſſion to prevent thoſe attainders to which they were expoſed on account of their rebellion; and Lewis, whoſe cauſe was now totally deſperate, began to be anxious for the ſafety of his perſon; he readily conſented to conclude a peace on honourable conditions, promiſed to evacuate the kingdom, and only ſtipulated in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a reſtitution to their honours and fortunes.

The earl of Pembroke did not long ſurvive the pacification which had been chiefly owing to his wiſdom and valour; and he was ſucceeded in the government by Peter des Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Hubert de Burgh, the juſticiary. The counſels of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he poſſeſſed equal authority in the kingdom with Pembroke, he ſeemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous nobleman. But the licentious and powerful barons having broken the reigns of ſubjection, could ill be reſtrained by laws under a minority: they held by force the royal caſtles; they uſurped

uſurped the king's demeſnes; they oppreſſed their vaſſals; and protected every ſpecies of banditti in their robberies and extortions.

No man was more infamous for theſe practices than the earl of Albemarle; Hubert, to reduce him to obedience, had ſeized an opportunity of getting poſſeſſion of Rockingham caſtle, which he had garriſoned with his licentious retinue: but inſtead of ſubmitting, he ſurpriſed in return the caſtle of Fotheringay; Pandulf, the legate, was active in ſuppreſſing this rebellion: he excommunicated Albemarle and his adherents; the latter, alarmed at this meaſure, deſerted their chief, who ſued for mercy; but with an impolitic lenity, too frequent in thoſe times, he received a pardon, and was reſtored to his whole eſtate.

Juſtice was executed with greater ſeverity againſt diſorders leſs premeditated, which broke out in London. A quarrel had ariſen between the Londoners and the inhabitants of Weſtminſter in a match of wreſtling. The former had pulled down ſome houſes belonging to the abbot of Weſtminſter; and in the tumult had made uſe of the cry commonly employed by the French troops. The juſticiary made enquiry into the diſorder; and finding one Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf to have been the ringleader, he proceeded againſt him by martial law, and ordered him immediately to be hanged. A. D. 1222, 1227.

The low ſtate into which the crown was fallen, made it requiſite for a good miniſter to be attentive to the preſervation of the royal prerogatives, as well as the ſecurity of public liberty. Hubert therefore applied to the Pope to declare the king of full age. In conſequence of this declaration, he reſigned into his hands the important fortreſſes of the Tower and Dover caſtle, which had been intruſted to his cuſtody Several of the moſt powerful barons, inſtead of imitating his example, formed the deſign of ſurpriſing London; but finding the king prepared for defence, they deſiſted; and being threatened by the archbiſhop and the prelate with excommunication if they perſiſted

ed in detaining the king's caſtles, they at length gave way, and ſurrendered up thoſe fortreſſes.

During theſe inteſtine commotions, Lewis VIII. who had ſucceeded as king of France to his father Philip, made an irruption into Poictou, and took Rochelle: but his progreſs was ſtopped by the earl of Saliſbury and prince Richard, brother to the king, whom he had created earl of Cornwall.

A. D. 1227. 1233. As he approached to man's eſtate, the character of the king became every day better known. Gentle, humane, and merciful, even to a fault, he appears to have been ſteady in nothing, but to have received every impreſſion from thoſe who ſurrounded him; without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct war; without policy or art, he was ill calculated to maintain peace. His reſentments, though haſty and violent, were not dreaded, while he was found to drop them with ſuch facility; his friendſhips were little valued, becauſe they were neither derived from choice, nor maintained with conſtancy.

The ableſt and moſt faithful miniſter the king ever poſſeſſed was Hubert de Burgh, yet him in a ſudden caprice Henry threw off and expoſed to the moſt violent perſecutions. Among other frivolous crimes, he was accuſed of gaining the king's affections by enchantments; he eſcaped to France, was recalled, and recovered a great ſhare of the king's confidence, but was never reinſtated in power or authority.

A. D. 1233. 1236. The man who ſucceeded him in the government of the king and kingdom, was Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, a Poictevin by birth, and who was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his arbitrary principles, than by his abilities: he perſuaded Henry to invite over a number of Poictevins, and other foreigners, whom he believed could be more ſafely truſted than the Engliſh. On theſe ſtrangers every office and command were beſtowed; they exhauſted the revenues of the crown; they invaded the rights of the people; a confederacy of the nobles againſt

againſt theſe odious favourites was broken by the addreſs of Peter; the eſtates of the moſt obnoxious barons were confiſcated, without a legal ſentence or trial by their peers; and when to theſe proceedings the authority of the great charter was objected, Henry was wont to reply, *Why ſhould I obſerve this charter, which is neglected by all my grandees, both prelates and nobility?* it was very reaſonably ſaid to him, *you ought, ſir, to ſet them the example.*

So violent a miniſtry as that of the biſhop of Wincheſter could not be of long duration; yet its fall proceeded from the church, not from the efforts of the nobles. Edmond the primate, attended by many other prelates, came to court, and repreſenting the pernicious meaſures of Peter, required the diſmiſſion of him, and his aſſociates, under pain of excommunication. The menace was too formidable to be neglected; yet the Engliſh were not long free from the dominion of foreigners. The king having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was ſurrounded by a great number of ſtrangers from that country, whom he enriched by his imprudent generoſity; the invidious partiality of Henry excited the reſentment of the Engliſh barons, but their remonſtrances were diſregarded; and the king's profuſe bounty to theſe foreigners obliged him often to recruit his coffers, by arbitrary exertions of prerogative, and by extorting loans from his moſt opulent ſubjects. A. D. 1236; 1247.

The foreign enterpriſes of Henry ſerved not to atone for the errors of his domeſtic government; in a war with Lewis IX. he was ſtripped of what remained to him of Poictou. His want of œconomy reduced him to ſell his plate and jewels. When this expedient was firſt propoſed to him, he aſked, where he ſhould find purchaſers? it was replied, the citizens of London. *On my word*, ſaid he, *theſe clowns, who aſſume to themſelves the names of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to neceſſities*; and he was

thenceforth obſerved to be more forward and greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

But among the chief grievances which the Engliſh had reaſon to complain of during this reign, were the uſurpations and avarice of the court of Rome. About 1229, pope Honorius demanded, and obtained, the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues. In the year 1240, Otho the legate wreſted large ſums from the prelates and convents, and is ſaid to have carried more money out of the kingdom than he left: four years after the experiment was renewed by Mertu the nuncio: and the king, who relied on the pope for the ſupport of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance thoſe exactions.

A. D. 1247, 1254. Innocent III. was ſtill more rapacious than his predeceſſors: by his influence he embarked Henry in a project for the conqueſt of Sicily. The ſucceſſion of the Sicilian crown had devolved on Conradine, the grandſon of Frederic II. but Mainfroy, the natural ſon of Frederic, who governed the kingdom during the minority of Conradine, had formed a ſcheme of eſtabliſhing his own authority: Innocent had been engaged in war with Frederic, and continued his enmity to all his deſcendants as vicar of Chriſt, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were ſubjected: he pretended to diſpoſe of Sicily; and he offered it to Henry for his ſecond ſon Edmond. The latter, allured by ſo magnificent a propoſal, accepted it, without reflecting on the conſequences; he gave the pope credit to expend whatever ſums were neceſſary to complete the conqueſt; and was ſurpriſed when he ſoon found himſelf involved in a debt of upwards of one hundred and thirty five thouſand marks.

In this extremity, as the parliament was inflexible, the clergy were his only reſource. As both their temporal and ſpiritual ſovereign concurred in loading them, they were unable to defend themſelves againſt this united authority; one hundred and fifty thouſand marks were extorted from them; yet the money was inſufficient;

inſufficient: the conqueſt of Sicily was as remote as ever; and Henry, ſenſible of the cheat, began to think of reſigning a crown which it never was the intention of the Pope that he or his family ſhould enjoy.

The ruling paſſion of the earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, was to amaſs money; he had withſtood the offer of Sicily, and had preferred the ſolid honours of an opulent prince of England, to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity. But he had not always firmneſs to adhere to this reſolution; he was tempted to become a candidate for the imperial crown: he ſucceeded ſo far as to be choſen king of the Romans, which ſeemed to render his ſucceſſion infallible. He went over to Germany, and carried with him the immenſe ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand marks. His money while it laſted procured him friends and partiſans; but it was ſoon drained by the avidity of the German princes; and he returned to England, aſhamed of having laviſhed away the frugality of a whole life, in the acquiſition of an uſeleſs title.

His abſence, joined to the weakneſs of his brother's government, had given reins to the factious and turbulent diſpoſitions of the Engliſh barons. The ſucceſsful revolt of the nobility from king John, had made them feel their own importance. The king had applied to the parliament for a ſupply of money; and had promiſed at the ſame time a redreſs of civil and eccleſiaſtical grievances: in return they granted him a tenth of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, and a ſcutage of three marks on each knight's fee. But as they had experienced, under ſimilar circumſtances, his frequent breach of promiſe, they required that he ſhould ratify the great charter, in a manner more ſolemn than any which he had hitherto employed. All the prelates and abbots were aſſembled; they held burning tapers in their hands; the great charter was read before them; they denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould thenceforth violate this fundi- A. D. 1255, 1258.

mental law; they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, *May the ſoul of every one who incurs this ſentence, ſo ſtink and corrupt in hell.* The king bore a part of this ceremony, and ſubjoined, *So help me God, I will keep all theſe articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a chriſtian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed.* Yet was the ceremony no ſooner finiſhed than his favourites, abuſing his weakneſs, made him return to the ſame irregular adminiſtration.

A. D. 1258, 1261. Theſe imprudent meaſures encouraged Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, to attempt to wreſt the ſceptre from the feeble hand which held it. This nobleman was the youngeſt ſon of Simon de Montfort, who conducted a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, a ſpecies of enthuſiaſts in the ſouth of France. The ſon had ſucceeded to a conſiderable inheritance in England, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Leiceſter, and had eſpouſed Eleanor, dowager to William earl of Pembroke, and ſiſter to the king. His addreſs gained him the affections of all orders of men, but could not protect him againſt the levity of his ſovereign; he had alternately enjoyed the favour, and been expoſed to the hatred of Henry: too great to act ſubſervient to the minions of that prince, he found more advantage in cultivating his intereſt with the public. He filled every place with complaints againſt the infringement of the great charter; and though he himſelf was a foreigner, he was more loud than any in repreſenting the ignominy of being governed by foreigners. A quarrel which he had with William de Valence, the king's half brother, determined him to give full ſcope to his unbounded ambition. He ſecretly called a meeting of the moſt powerful barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun, high conſtable, Roger Bigod earl Maraſchel, and the earls of Warwic and Gloceſter. To theſe he exaggerated the oppreſſions exerciſed againſt the lower orders, the violation of the barons' privileges, and the continual depredations made on the clergy; and while

while he magnified the generoſity of their anceſtors, who at the expence of their blood had extorted the great charter from the crown, he lamented their own degeneracy, who allowed ſo important an advantage to be wreſted from them by a weak prince, and inſolent ſtrangers.

Theſe topics were well ſuited to the ſentiments of the company; and the barons embraced a reſolution of redreſſing the public grievances, by taking into their own hands the adminiſtration of government. They entered the parliament clad in complete armour, with their ſwords by their ſides; and when the king, ſtruck with their unuſual appearance, aſked, whether they intended to make him priſoner? Robert de Bigod replied for the reſt, "that he was not their "priſoner, but their ſovereign; that they even intend-"ed to grant him large ſupplies in order to fix his ſon "on the throne of Sicily; but as he had frequently, "after acknowledging his errors, allowed himſelf to "be carried into the ſame path, he muſt now yield to "more ſtrict regulations, and confer authority on "thoſe who were willing and able to redreſs the na-"tional grievances." Henry, partly allured by the hopes of ſupply, and partly intimidated at the martial appearance of the barons, acquieſced, and ſummoned another parliament at Oxford to digeſt the new plan of government.

The parliament, which from the confuſion that attended its meaſures, was afterwards denominated the *mad parliament*, choſe twelve barons, to whom were added twelve more from the king's miniſters. To theſe twenty-four, unlimited authority was granted; and as Leiceſter was at the head of this council, all their meaſures were taken by his influence: they ordered four knights to be choſen by each county, who were to report the grievances of the people to the parliament; they appointed three ſeſſions of parliament to be held regularly every year; that a new ſheriff ſhould be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders in each county; that no heirs ſhould be committed to

the wardſhips of foreigners; and no caſtles intruſted to their cuſtody; and that no new warrens or foreſts ſhould be erected, nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds be let to farm.

But the earl of Leiceſter and his aſſociates in their ſubſequent proceedings, revealed their intentions of reducing for ever both the king and people, under the arbitrary power of a narrow ariſtocracy. They diſplaced all the chief officers of the crown, and advanced either themſelves or their own creatures in their place. They compelled every man to ſwear that he would obey and execute the regulations, known and unknown, of the twenty-four barons; even prince Edward, the king's eldeſt ſon, and the king of the Romans, after ſome oppoſition, were obliged to take this oath; and they choſe a committee of twelve, who during the intervals of the ſeſſions were to poſſeſs the whole authority of parliament.

But the ſtream of popularity was now rapidly turning againſt them; and whatever ſupport they might have derived from the private power of their families, was weakened by their inteſtine jealouſies. A violent enmity broke out between the earls of Leiceſter and Gloceſter; the latter was deſirous of moderating the career of the barons; but the former, enraged at the oppoſition he met with in his own party, pretended to throw up all concerns in Engliſh affairs, and retired into France.

The ſceptre of France was at that time held by Lewis IX. who blended with the mean and abject ſuperſtition of a monk, the courage and magnanimity of an hero. He perceived and diſcouraged the guilty ambition of Leiceſter, and refuſed to avail himſelf of the internal diſtractions of England. His moderation and integrity were peculiarly favourable to Henry, whoſe affairs began to aſſume a more auſpicious appearance. The pope, diſſatisfied with the conduct of the barons, had abſolved the king and all his ſubjects from the oath which they had taken to obſerve the proviſions of Oxford; and though prince Edward,

with

with a liberality of mind which acquired him the confidence of all parties, long refuſed to take advantage of this abſolution. Henry himſelf was not ſo ſcrupulous, but truſting to the countenance of the church, to the ſupport promiſed him by many conſiderable nobles, and the returning favour of the people, he threw off the maſk: he removed the officers appointed by the barons; he ſummoned a new parliament; and he offered to refer all differences between himſelf and the earl of Leiceſter to Margaret queen of France.

The mediation of the French court was declined by Leiceſter, whoſe ambition urged him to ſtake his fortune on the chance of war. The death of his ancient rival, the earl of Glouceſter, opened a new field to his violence: and the young earl was allured to join his party with his adherents. Leiceſter alſo entered into a confederacy with Lewellen prince of Wales; and no ſooner did he underſtand that prince Edward had marched to oppoſe the Welſh, than he ſecretly paſſed over into England, collected his partiſans, and commenced an open rebellion. A. D. 1263.

London, where his hypocritical ſanctity had acquired him an uncontrolable dominion over all ranks of men, was one of the principal reſources of Leiceſter. The populace, encouraged by Thomas Fitz-Richard, the mayor, broke out into an open ſedition. The luſt of plunder and deſtruction firſt prompted them to attack the Jews, who were pillaged and maſſacred to the number of five hundred perſons. The Lombard bankers and rich citizens were the next victims to their rapacity; even the queen ſcarce eſcaped their rage; whom they intended to have removed by water from the Tower to the caſtle of Windſor; but the popular cry was, *Drown the witch!* the multitude aſſembled with large ſtones on the bridge to ſink her barge; and her fears induced her to return to the Tower.

The earl of Leiceſter was not only maſter of London, but in a parley he had ſeized the perſon of prince Edward, the life and ſoul of the royal party. This

misfortune determined the king to ſeek an accommodation; he agreed to confirm the proviſions of Oxford; and he reinſtated the barons in the ſovereignty of the kingdom. The latter immediately filled every office with their creatures; they ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter in order to ſettle their government; and in that aſſembly they inſiſted that the authority of the twenty-four barons ſhould continue, not only during the reign of the king, but alſo during that of prince Edward.

But Edward having recovered his liberty by the late treaty, employed his activity in defending the prerogatives of his family. The number of his friends, and the clamour of the people for peace, obliged the earl of Leiceſter to conſent to a ſecond negociation; and it was agreed by both ſides to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of the king of France.

This virtuous prince had never ceaſed to interpoſe his good offices between the Engliſh factions; and at Amiens, in the preſence of the ſtates of France, of the king of England, and of Peter de Montfort, Leiceſter's ſon, he brought this great cauſe to a trial. He annulled the proviſions of Oxford, reſtored the king to the poſſeſſion of his caſtles, and to the nomination of the great offices; but he ordered at the ſame time a general amneſty ſhould be granted for all paſt offences; and declared that his award was in no wiſe meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former charters.

A. D. 1264. This ſentence was rejected by Leiceſter and his aſſociates. They aſſerted that the latter part of it was a contradiction to the former: it ratified, they ſaid, the charter of liberties, yet annulled the proviſions of Oxford, which were calculated to preſerve that charter. They reſolved to have recourſe to arms; and an aſſociation was entered into between the city of London and eighteen of the moſt powerful barons, never to make peace with the king, but by common conſent and approbation.

The

The king and the prince finding a civil war inevitable, ſummoned to their ſtandard their friends and vaſſals. They carried by aſſault Northampton; were admitted into Leiceſter and Nottingham; and compelled the barons to raiſe the ſiege of Rocheſter; but Leiceſter only retreated, that he might protect the capital; and having been reinforced by a great body of Londoners, he determined to ſtake the fate of the nation on a deciſive engagement.

His talents for war were diſplayed in the ſkill and ſecrecy of his march; and he had nearly ſurpriſed the royaliſts in their quarters at Lewes in Suſſex; this negligence was repaired by the activity of prince Edward, who marſhalled the army of the king. With the van he ruſhed upon the Londoners, who from their ignorance of diſcipline, and want of experience, were ill fitted to reſiſt the ardour of Edward and his martial companions; they were broken in an inſtant, and were chaced off the field for many miles. But when Edward returned from the purſuit in triumph, he was aſtoniſhed to find the ground covered with the dead bodies of his friends. During his abſence, Leiceſter had attacked, and defeated the main body commanded by Henry and the king of the Romans; he had taken priſoners both thoſe princes; and Edward, intrepid amidſt the greateſt diſaſters, in vain exhorted his followers to revenge the death of their friends, and relieve the royal captives; they were dejected by this unexpected reverſe of fortune; and the earl of Warrenne, and ſeveral other noblemen, haſtened to the ſea coaſt, and eſcaped to the continent.

There appeared now no farther reſource for the royal party, and the prince was obliged to ſubmit to Leiceſter's terms, which were ſhort and ſevere. He ſtipulated that Edward, and Henry d'Allmaine, the ſon of the king of the Romans, ſhould ſurrender themſelves pledges, in lieu of the two kings: that all other priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed: and that, under the direction of the king of France, three perſons

perſons ſhould be choſen to make what regulations they ſhould deem neceſſary for the ſettlement of the kingdom.

The prince and Henry d'Allmaine accordingly delivered themſelves into Leiceſter's hands, who ſent them under a guard to Dover caſtle; but he had no ſooner got the whole royal family in his power, than he openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as the ſole maſter, and even tyrant of the kingdom. He carried the king from place to place; and obliged all the royal caſtles, on pretence of Henry's commands, to receive a governor and garriſon of his own appointment: he ſeized the eſtates of no leſs than eighteen barons, as his ſhare of the ſpoil gained in the battle of Lewes: he entered into a combination with a band of pirates, who iſſued from the cinque ports, and received as his portion a third of their prizes. No farther mention was made of the reference to the king of France; and though Leiceſter ſummoned a parliament, it was entirely compoſed of his own dependants, who voted the royal power ſhould be exerciſed by a council of nine perſons, who were to be choſen and removed by the majority of three, Leiceſter himſelf, the earl of Gloceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter.

By this ſtep the ſceptre was really placed in the hands of Leiceſter, as he had the entire direction of the biſhop of Chicheſter. But his ſatisfaction was allayed by the dangers that menaced him. The queen had collected in foreign parts an army of deſperate adventurers, and had collected a number of ſhips; Lewis, it was ſuppoſed, ſecretly favoured her enterpriſes; and the Pope, ſtill adhering to the king's cauſe againſt the barons, iſſued a bull of excommunication againſt all who concurred in the oppreſſion and captivity of their ſovereign.

A. D. 1265. Leiceſter was not ignorant that great part of his popularity in England was founded on his oppoſition to the court of Rome. That he might farther ingratiate himſelf with

with the people, he ſummoned a new parliament in London. Beſides the barons of his own party, and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each ſhire, and, what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs; an order of men, which in former ages had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils. This period is commonly eſteemed the epoch of the houſe of commons in England; and it is certainly the firſt time that hiſtorians ſpeak of any repreſentatives ſent to parliament by the boroughs.

Leiceſter having thus aſſembled a parliament of his own model, and truſting to the attachment of the populace of London, ſeized the opportunity of cruſhing his rival among the powerful barons. Even the earl of Gloceſter found himſelf in danger from the prevailing authority of his ancient confederate, and retired from the capital. This known diſſention encouraged the enemies of Leiceſter; and the general wiſh that the gallant Edward ſhould be releaſed, who had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the battle of Lewes, reduced him to aſſume the appearance of compliance. On the prince ordering his adherents to deliver up all his caſtles, and ſwearing neither to depart the kingdom, nor introduce into it any foreign forces, he was declared free by the barons; but inſtead of really recovering his liberty, he found himſelf cloſely watched by the emiſſaries of Leiceſter, whoſe faction reaped all the advantage of this new treaty.

As Gloceſter, on his rupture with the barons, had retired for ſafety to his eſtates on the borders of Wales, Leiceſter followed him with an army to Hereford, and carried the king and young prince along with him. It was here Gloceſter concerted with young Edward the manner of that prince's eſcape. He furniſhed him with a ſwift horſe, and placed near a ſmall party to guard him to a place of ſafety. Edward pretended to take the air with ſome of his guards, and making matches between their horſes until he thought he had tired them, he ſuddenly mounted Gloceſter's horſe, bade

bade them adieu, and reached his friends, who impatiently awaited him.

The royaliſts, ſecretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms; and the joy of this gallant prince's deliverance, the oppreſſions under which the nation laboured, the expectation of a new ſcene of affairs, and the countenance of the earl of Gloceſter, procured Edward an army which Leiceſter was utterly unable to withſtand. This nobleman found himſelf in a remote quarter of the kingdom; ſurrounded by his enemies; barred from all communication with his friends by the Severn, whoſe bridges Edward had broken down; and obliged to fight the cauſe of his party under theſe multiplied diſadvantages. In this extremity he wrote to his ſon Simon de Montfort, to haſten from London with an army for his relief; and Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view, where, fancying that all Edward's force and attention were directed againſt his father, he lay ſecure and unguarded. But the prince, making a ſudden and forced march, ſurpriſed him in his camp, diſperſed his army, and took the earl of Oxford and many other noblemen priſoners, almoſt without reſiſtance. Leiceſter, ignorant of his ſon's fate, paſſed the Severn in boats during Edward's abſence, and lay at Eveſham, in expectation of being every hour joined by his friends from London: when the prince, who availed himſelf of every favourable moment, appeared in the field before him. Edward made a body of his troops advance from the road which led to Kenilworth, and ordered them to carry the banners taken from Simon's army; while he himſelf making a circuit with the reſt of his forces, purpoſed to attack the enemy on the other quarter. Leiceſter was long deceived by this ſtratagem, and took one diviſion of Edward's army for his friends; but at laſt, perceiving his miſtake, and obſerving the great ſuperiority and excellent diſpoſition of the royaliſts, he exclaimed that they had learned from him the art of war; adding, "The Lord have mercy on our ſouls, for I ſee our

our bodies are the prince's!" The battle immediately began, though on very unequal terms. Leiceſter's army, by living on the mountains of Wales without bread, which was not then much uſed among the inhabitants, had been extremely weakened by ſickneſs and deſertion, and was ſoon broken by the victorious royaliſts; while his Welſh allies, accuſtomed only to a deſultory kind of war, immediately took to flight, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Leiceſter himſelf, aſking for quarter, was ſlain in the heat of the action, with his eldeſt ſon Henry, Hugh le Deſpenſer, and about an hundred and ſixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party. The old king had been purpoſely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle; and being clad in armour, and thereby not known by friends, he received a wound, and was in danger of his life: but crying out, *I am Henry of Wincheſter, your king*, he was ſaved; and put in a place of ſafety by his ſon, who flew to his reſcue.

Such was the end of the earl of Leiceſter, who though his character is ſtained with violence, ingratitude, tyranny, rapacity, and treachery, certainly poſſeſſed great abilities, and preſerved the appearance of great virtues. His popularity, even after his death, was ſuch, that though excommunicated by Rome, the people believed him to be a ſaint, and miracles were ſaid to be wrought on his tomb. His military capacity and political crafts were equally eminent; he was capable both of governing men and conducting buſineſs; and a prince of greater vigour than Henry, might have repreſſed the ambition, and have directed the talents of this nobleman either to the exaltation of his throne, or to the good of his people.

The victory at Eveſham proved deciſive in favour of the royaliſts; but they uſed it with great moderation: the great charter remained inviolate; and the king was careful to abſtain from all thoſe exertions of power, which A. D. 1266, 1269.

which had afforded ſo plauſible a pretence to the rebels. His clemency was extended even to his moſt inveterate enemies; and the earl of Gloceſter, whoſe youth and temerity prompted him, on ſome new diſguſt, to rekindle the flames of rebellion, found a ready pardon in the memory of his former ſervices; and was only obliged to enter into a bond of 20,000 marks, that he would never again take arms againſt his ſovereign.

A. D. 1270, 1272. The prince finding the ſtate of the kingdom tolerably compoſed, was impelled, by his avidity for glory, and by the ſolicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition againſt the infidels in the Holy Land. He carried with him the earl of Gloceſter: but when he arrived at Tunis on the coaſt of Africa, he found Lewis had ſunk beneath the heat of the climate and the fatigues of the enterpriſe. Not diſcouraged by this event, Edward purſued his voyage, and revived in the Holy Land the glory of the Engliſh name; and ſuch was the terror his achievements impreſſed on the Saracens, that they employed an aſſaſſin to murder him, who wounded him in the arm, but periſhed in the attempt.

Meanwhile his abſence from England was productive of the moſt pernicious conſequences; the laws were not executed; the barons oppreſſed the common people; the populace of London returned to their uſual licenciouſneſs. The old king, unequal to the burthen of public affairs, called aloud for his gallant ſon to return, and to aſſiſt him in ſwaying the ſceptre: at laſt, overcome by the cares of government, and the infirmities of age, he expired at St. Edmond's Bury, in the 64th year of his age, and the 56th of his reign.

Henry, who from the place where he was born, was ſurnamed of Wincheſter, left two ſons, Edward his ſucceſſor, and Edmond earl of Lancaſter; and two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix dutcheſs of Brittany.

In

In the thirty-fifth year of this king, an aſſize was fixed of bread, the price of which was ſettled, according to the different prices of corn, from one ſhilling a quarter, to ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence, money of that age. Theſe great variations are a proof of bad tillage. Yet the prices often roſe higher than are taken notice of by the ſtatute; and wheat in this reign was once ſold for a pound a quarter, that is, three pounds of our preſent money.

The ſame law affords us a proof of the little communication between the different parts of the kingdom, from the various prices which the ſame commodities bore at the ſame time. A brewer, ſays the ſtatute, may ſell two gallons of ale for a penny in the cities, and three or four for the ſame money in the country.

Intereſt in this age had amounted to an enormous height; inſtances occur of fifty per cent. being paid for money. Such profits tempted the Jews to remain in the kingdom, notwithſtanding the oppreſſion they were expoſed to. Yet our ideas ſcarcely come up to the extortions which we find to have been practiſed upon them. In the year 1241, 20,000 marks were exacted from them: two years after, money was again extorted; and one Jew alone, Aaron of York, was obliged to pay 4000 marks. In 1250, Henry renewed his oppreſſions; and the ſame Aaron was condemned to pay him 30,000 marks, upon an accuſation of forgery: the high penalty impoſed upon him, and which, it ſeems, he was thought able to pay, is rather a preſumption of his innocence than of his guilt. In 1255, the king demanded 8000 marks from the Jews, and threatened to hang them if they refuſed compliance. They now loſt all patience, and deſired leave to retire with their effects out of the kingdom. But the king replied: "How can I "remedy the oppreſſions you complain of? I am "myſelf a beggar. I am ſpoiled, I am ſtripped of "all my revenues: I owe above 200,000 marks; "and if I had ſaid 300,000, I ſhould not exceed the

"truth: I am obliged to pay my ſon prince Edward "15,000 marks a year: I have not a farthing; and "I muſt have money, from any hand, from any "quarter, or by any means." He then delivered over the Jews to the earl of Cornwal, that thoſe whom the one brother had flayed, the other might embowel, to make uſe of the words of the hiſtorian. King John, his father, once demanded 10,000 marks from a Jew of Briſtol; and on his refuſal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day till he ſhould comply. The Jew loſt ſeven teeth; and then paid the ſum required of him. One talliage laid upon the Jews in 1243 amounted to 60,000 marks; a ſum equal to the whole yearly revenue of the crown.

The trial by ordeal was aboliſhed in this reign by order of council; a faint mark of improvement in the age.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

Civil adminiſtration of the king—Conqueſt of Wales.—Affairs of Scotland.—Competition for the crown.—Reference to Edward.—Homage of Scotland.—Award of Edward in favour of Baliol.—War with France.—Conſtitution of parliament.—War with Scotland.—Scotland ſubdued.—War with France.—Diſſentions with the clergy and barons.—Peace with France.—Revolt of Scotland—that Kingdom again ſubdued—again revolts—is again ſubdued.—Robert Bruce.—Third revolt of Scotland.—Death and Character of Edward the Firſt—Acceſſion of Edward the Second.—his weakneſs.—Paſſion for Piers Gaveſton.—Diſcontent of the barons.—Murder of Gaveſton.—War with Scotland.—Battle of Bannockburn.—Hugh le Deſpenſer.—Civil commotions.—Execution of the earl of Lancaſter.—Conſpiracy againſt the king.—Inſurrection. Edward dethroned and murdered.—His character.

PRINCE Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of the death of his father. Accompained by his conſort, the princeſs Eleanor of Caſtile, he proceeded to Paris, and did homage to Philip, for the dominions which he held in France. He thence advanced by ſlow journies to London, where he was received by the joyful acclamations of his people, and was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter, by Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury. A. D. 1272, 1275.

The king immediately applied himſelf to correcting the diſorders which the civil commotions had introduced into every part of government. By rigid execu-

tion of the laws, he gave protection to the inferior orders of ſtate, and diminiſhed the arbitrary power of the barons. He appointed a commiſſion to enquire into crimes of all kinds; the Jews were generally accuſed of having adulterated the coin of the realm, and Edward, who ſeems to have indulged a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion againſt that race, let looſe on them the whole rigours of his juſtice. In London alone, two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once; fifteen thouſand were robbed of their effects, and baniſhed the kingdom; very few of that people have ſince lived in England; and as it is impoſſible for a nation to ſubſiſt without lenders of money; the practice of uſury, as it was then called, was thenceforth exerciſed by the Engliſh themſelves upon their fellow citizens.

The poverty of the crown had induced Edward to enquire into the encroachments on the royal demeſne; and the commiſſioners in their zeal queſtioned eſtates which had been tranſmitted from the father to the ſon, for ſeveral generations. Earl Warrenne being required to ſhew his titles, drew his ſword; *William the Baſtard*, ſaid he, *did not conquer the kingdom for himſelf alone; my father was a joint adventurer in the enterprize; and I am determined to defend what has from that period remained unqueſtioned in my family.* The king, ſenſible of the danger, reſiſted from further reſumption.

A. D. 1276, 1283. The active ſpirit of Edward could no longer remain without employment. Llewellyn prince of Wales had been deeply engaged with the Montford faction; he had refuſed to do homage in perſon, unleſs the king's ſon and ſeveral other noblemen were delivered to him as hoſtages. Edward, impatient of his evaſions, entered Wales with a numerous army; he pierced into the heart of the country; and ſurrounded Llewellyn and the flower of the Welſh, on the hills of Snowdon; inſtead of putting to trial the valour of a nation, proud of its ancient independence, he truſted to the ſlow but ſure effects of famine; and Llewellyn, deſtitute of magazines, without ſtriking a blow, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. He did

homage, and ſuffered his barons to ſwear fealty to the crown of England; and relinquiſhed the country between Cheſhire and the river Conway.

The peace Llewellyn purchaſed by theſe conceſſions was not of long duration; the inſolence of the Engliſh borderers, provoked the Welſh to riſe again in arms; and Edward again entered the country with a force too great for reſiſtance. Llewellyn was ſurpriſed and ſlain, with two thouſand of his followers. His brother David, who ſucceeded him in the principality, was chaſed from hill to hill, and was at laſt betrayed to the enemy. Edward brought him to a formal trial before the peers of England; and ordered this ſovereign prince to be hanged as a traitor, for defending by arms the liberties of his native country, and his own hereditary authority.

Intimidated by the fate of David, all the Welſh nobility ſubmitted; and the laws of England were eſtabliſhed throughout the principality. Edward, ſenſible that nothing cheriſhed military virtue and glory ſo much as traditional poetry, gathered together the Welſh bards, and from a barbarous, though not an abſurd policy, ordered them to be put to death. A. D. 1284, 1290.

There prevails a vulgar ſtory, that Edward aſſembled the Welſh, propoſed to give them a prince, a Welſhman by birth, and one who could ſpeak no other language; and on their promiſe of obedience, he inveſted in the principality his ſecond ſon Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Caernarvon; the death of his eldeſt ſon Alfonſo, ſoon made Edward heir to the monarchy; the principality of Wales was fully annexed to the crown; and henceforth gives a title to the eldeſt ſon of the kings of England.

The ſettlement of Wales, allowed Henry leiſure to attend to the affairs of Scotland; he contracted his ſon Edward to Margaret, the heir to the Scottiſh crown; the death of that princeſs, while yet an infant, broke all his meaſures; and the vacant throne was claimed both by A. D. 1291, 1292.

John Baliol and Robert Bruce; Baliol was ſprung from the elder branch of the royal family; Bruce was one degree nearer the common ſtock. The ſentiments of the Scots were divided; each claimant had great power and numerous retainers; and the parliament of Scotland, allured by the reputation of the Engliſh monarch, and anxious to avoid a civil war, determined to refer the pretenſions of Baliol and Bruce to Edward; and Fraſer, biſhop of St. Andrew's, with other deputies, was ſent to notify to him their reſolutions, and to ſolicit his good offices in the preſent dangers to which they were expoſed.

The temptation was too ſtrong for the virtue of the Engliſh monarch; he purpoſed to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, to revive, or rather to create, a claim of a feudal ſuperiority over Scotland. But though he ranſacked for proofs the monaſteries, the whole amount of his authorities was, that the Scots had ſometimes received peace on diſadvantageous terms, and had made ſubmiſſions to the Engliſh. The power of the ſword, was, however, more effectual than any records. Edward, accompanied by a great army, invited the Scottiſh parliament and the competitors to attend him in the caſtle of Norham, on the ſouthern bank of the Tweed. He informed them that he was come hither to do juſtice to all parties; and that he was entitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of liege lord of the kingdom.

The barons were moved with indignation at the injuſtice of this unexpected claim; but they found themſelves betrayed into a ſituation, in which it was impoſſible for them to make any defence for the ancient independence of their country; without a head, all attached to different competitors, by ſuch reſiſtance they might have entailed on themſelves and their poſterity a more grievous ſervitude. They probably maintained a prudent ſilence; and that ſilence, Edward interpreting into acquieſcence, addreſſed himſelf to the competitors, and

previous to his pronouncing ſentence, required their acknowledgment of his ſuperiority.

Bruce had ſo far foreſeen the pretenſions of Edward, that in his petition, where he ſet forth his claim to the crown, he had applied to him as liege lord of the kingdom; Baliol, though more tardily, and with more apparent reluctance, recognized his title. Edward next deliberated concerning the method of proceeding in this great controverſy; Baliol and Bruce each choſe forty of their adherents; to theſe the king added twenty-four Engliſhmen. The hundred and four commiſſioners were to examine the cauſe, and make their report to the king, who promiſed in the enſuing year to give his determination. Meanwhile he demanded that the fortreſſes of Scotland ſhould be delivered to him, that he might put the true heir in poſſeſſion; and before the aſſembly broke up, he compelled all the Scottiſh barons and prelates to ſwear fealty to him.

After conſulting the moſt celebrated lawyers in Europe, Edward, in conformity to their anſwers, pronounced ſentence in favour of Baliol; to whom, after receiving an oath of fealty to England, he delivered up the fortreſſes of Scotland, and if he had been ſatisfied with eſtabliſhing the ſuperiority of the Engliſh crown, he might have fixed his pretenſions, and have left that important acquiſition to his poſterity; but he proceeded in ſuch a manner as made it evident he aimed at the abſolute dominion of the kingdom. He encouraged appeals to England; he required king John by ſix different ſummons to come to London on trivial occaſions; he refuſed him the privilege of defending his cauſe by a procuration; and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private perſon. Gentle as was the diſpoſition of Baliol, it was exaſperated by theſe repeated indignities; he determimed at all hazards to vindicate his liberties, and the war, which ſoon broke out between England and France, afforded him a favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1293, 1295. A quarrel between a Norman and Engliſh ſailor, had been ſpeedily inflamed into a national enmity. A bloody war had been kindled at ſea, in which, though the reſpective ſovereigns had yet taken no part, ſo numerous were the fleets engaged, that fifteen thouſand Frenchmen are reported to have periſhed in one action: the affair was become too important to be neglected; Philip ſent an envoy to demand reparation; after a variety of negociations, it was inſinuated that Philip conceived his honour intereſted by the outrages of the inhabitants of Guienne; but if Edward would give him poſſeſſion of that province, he ſhould think the inſult effaced, and would reſtore Guienne immediately. Edward, intent on the affairs of Scotland, allowed himſelf to be deceived by the artifice; but Philip no ſooner found himſelf maſter of Guienne, than he threw off the maſk, ſummoned Edward as his vaſſal, to attend him in France; and on his refuſal, declared all his eſtates in that kingdom forfeited.

By emptying the jails, Edward raiſed an army which he ſent into Guienne; but theſe forces, though at firſt ſucceſsful, were ſoon afterwards defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter; and England was at the ſame time menaced with an invaſion from France and from Scotland. Baliol had entered into a cloſe alliance with Philip; and to confirm it, had ſtipulated the marriage of his eldeſt ſon with a niece of the king of France.

A. D. 1295. The union of theſe princes obliged Edward to carry on his preparations with vigour; and the expences with which they were attended, obliged him to have frequent recourſe to parliaments, and introduced into the public council, the lower orders of the ſtate. In his expedition into Wales, he had found how unequal was his ordinary reſources to maintain an army; and his diſtreſs made him think of a new device, and ſummon the repreſentatives of boroughs to parliament. This period, the twenty-third of his reign, ſeems to be the true epoch of the houſe of commons,; for the precedent

cedent of Leiceſter was regarded as the act of a violent uſurpation, and had been diſcontinued in all ſubſequent parliaments.

The great eſtates conferred by the Norman conqueſts had gradually been broken and divided; the numbers of the ſmall barons or knights, were conſequently increaſed; and though the king was deſirous to have their preſence in parliament, to control the turbulence of the great barons, the regular attendance of them all would have been too heavy a burthen; he therefore required them to chuſe in each county a certain number of their own body, who, having gained the confidence of the reſt, carried with them the authority of the whole order.

This meaſure augmented the influence of the king in the houſe of peers; but that body alone was not able to defray the charge of government. By the encouragement given to induſtry, the lower claſſes of of men had rapidly acquired a conſiderable degree of property: to ſecure them in the enjoyment of it, boroughs were erected by royal patent within the demeſne lands; liberty of trade was conferred on them; they were permitted to elect their own magiſtrates; the king retained indeed, the prerogative of levying taxes on them at pleaſure; but ſoon found he had no means of enforcing it. It was neceſſary to ſmooth the way by the previous conſent of the boroughs: to avoid the inconvenience of tranſacting this buſineſs with every particular borough, Edward determined to aſſemble the deputies from all, to lay before them the neceſſities of the ſtate, and to require their conſent to the demands of their ſovereign. Along with two knights of the ſhire, he enjoined the ſheriff to ſend to parliament two deputies from each borough; *as it is a moſt equitable rule*, ſays he, that what concerns all, ſhould *be approved of by all, and common dangers be repelled by united efforts*. A noble principle; which may ſeem to indicate a liberal mind in the king, and which laid the foundation of a free and an equitable government.

The

The charges of the deputies were borne by the borough which ſent them; they ſet apart from the barons and knights, who diſdained to mix with ſuch mean perſonages. After they had given their conſent to the taxes required of them, they ſeparated, even though the parliament continued to ſit. But in proceſs of time, it became cuſtomary for them, in return for the ſupplies they granted, to prefer petitions to the crown, for the redreſs of any particular grievance; and the king, by adding to them the ſanction of his authority, beſtowed validity on them. It was ſoon however diſcovered, that no laws could be fixed for one order of men without affecting the whole; and the houſe of peers therefore, with reaſon, expected that their aſſent ſhould be expreſsly granted to all public ordinances.

With the more frequent partition of property, the knights and leſſer barons gradually ſunk to a rank very inferior to the great nobility, while the growth of commerce augmented the private wealth of the burgeſſes; it ſeemed therefore no longer unſuitable to unite them together in the ſame houſe, and to confound their privileges; this event took place about fifty years from the time when burgeſſes were firſt ſummoned to parliament. Thus the third eſtate of the commons reached its preſent form; it roſe by degrees to importance; and in its progreſs made arts and commerce, the neceſſary attendants of liberty and equality, flouriſh in the kingdom.

A. D. 1296, 1297. The popular form which Edward had given to the parliament could not fail of procuring him a liberal ſupply. He applied it in making immediate preparations againſt the hoſtilities of his northern neighbours. He cited John to appear before him as his vaſſal; and on his refuſal, he marched with 30,000 foot, and 4000 horſe to chaſtiſe his contumacy. Encouraged by the intrigues of Robert Bruce, and ſeveral Scottiſh noblemen, he croſſed the Tweed, took Berwick by aſſault, and detached the earl of Warrenne with twelve thouſand men to beſiege Dunbar. The Scots, who attempted

tempted to ſtop the march of Warrenne, were defeated with the loſs of 20,000 men. Dunbar ſurrendered, and, after a feeble reſiſtance the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the Engliſh. The ſpirit of the nation was broken by their misfortunes; the feeble and timid Baliol haſtened to make his ſubmiſſion, and ſolemnly reſigned his crown into the hands of Edward. The victor marched to Aberdeen and Elgin without meeting an enemy. Before his return, he gave orders to deſtroy the records which might preſerve the memory of the independence of the kingdom. He left earl Warrenne governor of Scotland; and carried with him to London, Baliol, who was committed to cuſtody in the Tower; two years after he was reſtored to liberty; and ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment to France, where he died in a private ſtation.

Edward was not equally ſucceſsful on the ſide of Guienne; an army of ſeven thouſand men which he ſent thither, terminated the campaign without any material advantage. The ambitious ſpirit of Edward, ill-brooked the loſs of that province; he determined to attack France in a quarter where ſhe appeared more vulnerable; with this view he married his daughter Elizabeth, to John earl of Holland, and contracted an alliance with Guy, earl of Flanders. He flattered himſelf that, at the head of the Engliſh, Dutch, and Flemiſh armies, he might penetrate to Paris, and compel Philip to purchaſe peace by the reſtitution of Guienne. But in order to ſet this great buſineſs in motion, conſiderable ſupplies were neceſſary; and in his demand upon the clergy of a fifth of their moveables, he met with an oppoſition, which, for ſome time, diſconcerted all his manœuvres.

The papal chair at that time was filled by Boniface the Eighth, a man of a lofty and enterprizing ſpirit: to aſſert the ſtation of ſovereign pontiff, he iſſued a bull prohibiting all princes from levying, without his conſent, any taxes upon the clergy. Under this bull the eccleſiaſtical order took ſhelter; but Edward was

not

not to be thus eluded; he told the clergy, that ſince they refuſed to ſupport the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it; and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws. Orders were iſſued to the judges to do every man juſtice againſt the clergy, but to do them juſtice againſt nobody. The eccleſiaſtics ſoon found themſelves in the moſt miſerable ſituation imaginable. They could not remain in their own houſes for want of ſubſiſtence, and if they went abroad, they were abuſed and plundered by every ruffian. Their ſpirits were at laſt broken with this harſh treatment; and they conſented to purchaſe the protection of government, by depoſiting a ſum equal to the fifth of their moveables.

In a conteſt with his barons, Edward was not able to extricate himſelf with ſimilar advantage. The magnitude of his preparations had obliged him to raiſe money in an arbitrary manner; and the greater barons, jealous of his power, encouraged the murmurs of the people. Edward had intended, while he attacked Flanders, to have ſent over an army into Gaſcony, under the command of Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the mareſchal of England. But theſe powerful earls affirmed they were only obliged by their office to attend his perſon in the wars. A violent altercation enſued; and the king in the height of his paſſion, addreſſing himſelf to the conſtable, exclaimed, *ſir earl*, by God, *you ſhall either go or hang*; *by God, ſir king*, replied Hereford, *I will neither go nor hang*, and he immediately departed with the mareſchal, and above thirty other conſiderable barons.

The king now found it adviſeable to proceed with moderation; and, as his affairs required his preſence in Flanders, before his departure, he endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to his nobility. But the conſtable and mareſchal reſolved to take advantage of his abſence: when ſummoned to attend the parliament, they came with a force which rendered them maſters of the young prince,

prince, and the reſolutions of that aſſembly. Their demands were moderate; they required that the two charters ſhould receive a ſolemn confirmation; and that a clauſe ſhould be added to ſecure the nation for ever from all taxes, without the conſent of parliament: theſe terms were ſent over to the king in Flanders; his ſituation obliged him to ſubſcribe; and thus, after the conteſt of near a century, Magna Charta was eſtabliſhed, never again to be diſputed.

In Flanders, though Edward had been able to check the victorious career of Philip, who had made himſelf maſter of Liſle, St. Omer, Courtray, and Ypres, yet he found how vain were the hopes he had entertained of penetrating into the heart of France. Both monarchs were inclined to peace; and this diſpoſition engaged them to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of Pope Boniface.

Boniface was among the laſt of the ſovereign pontiffs that exerciſed an authority over the temporal juriſdiction of princes; and theſe exorbitant pretenſions, which he had been tempted to aſſume from the ſucceſsful example of his predeceſſors, but of which the ſeaſon was now paſt, involved him in ſo many calamities, and were attended with ſo unfortunate a cataſtrophe, that they have been ſecretly abandoned, though never openly relinquiſhed, by his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair. Edward and Philip, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to inſert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of their differences by their conſent, as a private perſon, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without ſeeming to be offended at this mortifying clauſe, proceeded to give a ſentence between them, in which they both acquieſced. He brought them to agree that their union ſhould be cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himſelf, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's ſiſter; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was likewiſe willing to reſtore Guienne to the Engliſh, which he had indeed no good pretence to detain; but he inſiſted that A. D. 1298.

the

the Scots, and their king John Baliol, ſhould, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and ſhould be reſtored to their liberty. The difference, after ſeveral diſputes, was compromiſed, by their making mutual ſacrifices to each other. Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip ſhould treat in like manner his ally the king of Scots. The proſpect of conquering theſe two countries, whoſe ſituation made them ſo commodious an acquiſition to the reſpective kingdoms, prevailed over all other conſiderations; and though they were both finally diſappointed in their hopes, their conduct was very reconcileable to the principles of an intereſted policy. This was the firſt ſpecimen which the Scots had of the French alliance, and which was exactly conformable to what a ſmaller power muſt always expect, when it blindly attaches itſelf to the will and fortunes of a greater. That unhappy people, now engaged in a brave though unequal conteſt for their liberties, were totally abandoned by the ally in whom they repoſed their final confidence, to the will of an imperious conqueror.

Ill health obliged the earl of Warrenne to reſign the adminiſtration of Scotland, into the hands of Ormeſby the juſticiary, and Creſſingham the treaſurer. The former diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſeverity of his temper; the latter had no other object than the amaſſing of money by rapine and injuſtice. They treated the Scots as a conquered people; and the braveſt and moſt generous ſpirits of the nation were exaſperated to the higheſt degree againſt the Engliſh government.

Among theſe was William Wallace, who, though of a ſmall fortune, was deſcended of an ancient family in the weſt of Scotland, and whoſe courage prompted him to undertake, and enabled him finally to accompliſh the delivery of his native country. This man finding himſelf obnoxious to the adminiſtration, had fled into the woods, and offered himſelf as a leader to thoſe whom their crimes or bad fortune had reduced to a like neceſſity. He was endowed with gigantic force

of

of body, with daring valour, and patience to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the ſeverities of the ſeaſons. He began with ſmall attempts, and diſcovered equal enterpriſe in annoying the enemy, and prudence in ſecuring his own followers. All who thirſted after military fame were deſirous to partake his renown; and his actions ſeemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy into which it had fallen by its tame ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh.

The juſticiary, and the other officers of Edward, alarmed at his progreſs, haſtily fled into England; and their terror added alacrity and courage to the Scots, who betook themſelves to arms in every quarter. Warrenne, alarmed at this intelligence, ſhook off his indiſpoſition, and collecting in the north of England an army of 40,000 men, he advanceed through a mountainous and barren country to Stirling, and found Wallace encamped on the oppoſite banks of the Forth. In his impatience, Warrenne ordered his army to croſs a bridge which lay over the Forth; but when numbers of the Engliſh had paſſed, before they could be formed in order, they were attacked by Wallace, and puſhed into the ſtream, or periſhed by the ſword. Diſmayed by this diſaſter, Warrenne retired again into England. Wallace received from his followers the title of Guardian, or Regent; and not content with having chaced the Engliſh out of Scotland, he paſſed the Tweed, and ravaged the biſhopric of Durham.

This reverſe of fortune haſtened the return ot Edward from Flanders; and impatient to recover the conqueſt of Scotland, he aſſembled the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, and marched with an army of near an hundered thouſand men to the northern frontiers.

He found the Scots diſtracted by faction and animoſities. The elevation of Wallace was the object of envy to the nobility; and that hero, ſenſible of their jealouſy, and dreading the ruin of his country from thoſe inteſtine diſcords, voluntarily reſigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of followers,

followers, who, being accuſtomed to victory under his ſtandard, refuſed to follow into the field any other leader. The chief power devolved on the ſteward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch, men of eminent birth, and who, collecting their detachments from every quarter, fixed their ſtation at Falkirk, and purpoſed there to abide the aſſault of the Engliſh.

Edward was pleaſed to be able, by one deciſive ſtroke, to determine the fortune of the war; he led his army in three bodies to the attack; and by the dexterity of his archers, and the weight of his cavalry, the Scots were broken and driven off the field with great ſlaughter. Though the hiſtorians, who make their loſs to have exceeded fifty thouſand men, may juſtly be diſtruſted, yet it is certain no action ever threatened more inevitable ruin to a country.

In the general rout Wallace had kept his troops entire; and having croſſed the Carron, he marched leiſurely along the banks of that ſmall river, which protected him from the enemy. Young Robert Bruce, grandſon and heir of him who had been competitor for the throne, who had given many proofs of his aſpiring genius, but who hitherto ſerved in the Engliſh army, appeared on the oppoſite bank; and diſtinguiſhing the Scottiſh chief, as well by his majeſtic port as by the intripid activity of his behaviour, he called out to him, and deſired a ſhort conference. He repreſented to him the fruitleſs and ruinous enterpriſe in which he was engaged, and the unequal conteſt between a weak ſtate, deprived of its head, and a mighty nation conducted by the ableſt monarch of the age. If the love of his country was his motive for perſeverance, his obſtinacy tended only to prolong her miſery; if he carried his views to private grandeur, he might reflect, that if Edward ſhould withdraw his armies, ſo many haughty nobles would never ſubmit to his rule. To this Wallace replied, that if he had hitherto acted alone as the champion of his country, it was becauſe no leader had yet appeared to place himſelf in that honourable ſtation; that the blame lay entirely with the nobility,

and

and chiefly with Bruce himſelf, who had deſerted the poſts which his merit and fortune invited him to aſſume; that the Scots, poſſeſſed of ſuch a leader, might hope ſucceſsfully to oppoſe all the powers and abilities of Edward; that for himſelf, he was determined, as far as poſſible, to prolong the freedom of Scotland; and was deſirous that his own life, as well as the exiſtence of the nation, might terminate when they could be no otherwiſe preſerved than by receiving the chains of an haughty victor. The gallantry of theſe ſentiments ſtruck the mind of Bruce. The flame was conveyed from the breaſt of one hero to that of another; he repented his engagements with Edward, and ſecretly reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of embracing the cauſe of his oppreſſed country.

The defeat of Falkirk had not completed the ſubjection of the Scots. That hardy people ſtill continued in arms; they choſe John Cummin for their regent; and not content with maintaining their independence in the northern parts, they broke into the ſouthern counties. Near Edinburgh they ſurpriſed the Engliſh army, routed them after an obſtinate combat; extended their ſucceſſes to the banks of the Tweed; and rendered it neceſſary for Edward to begin anew the conqueſt of the kingdom. A. D. 1299, 1303.

That prince prepared himſelf for the enterpriſe with his uſual vigour and abilities; he penetrated with a great army from one extremity of Scotland to the other, while his fleet ſailed along the coaſt, and ſecured him from the danger of famine. He ravaged the open country, reduced the caſtles, and compelled even Cummin himſelf to ſubmit to his authority. To make his acquiſition more durable, he abrogated all the Scottiſh laws and cuſtoms, endeavoured to ſubſtitute Engliſh in their place, and he entirely razed or deſtroyed all the monuments of antiquity. A. D. 1303, 1304.

Wallace, though he vigilantly followed
A. D. 1305. the Engliſh army, found but few opportunities of ſignalizing his valour; yet while he was alive Edward deemed his conqueſts in danger, and he employed every artifice to become maſter of his perſon. At laſt that hardy warrior was betrayed into the hands of the king, by his friend ſir John Monteith, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment. Edward, inſtead of reſpecting his bravery and magnanimity, reſolved to overawe the Scots by an example of ſeverity. He ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and a traitor, though he had never ſworn fealty to England; and to be executed on Tower-hill. This was the unworthy fate of an hero, who, through the courſe of many years, with ſignal conduct, intrepidity, and perſeverance, defended, againſt a public and oppreſſive enemy, the liberties of his native country.

The barbarous policy of Edward failed
A. D. 1306. of the purpoſe to which it was directed; the Scots were enraged at the injuſtice and cruelty exerciſed on their champion; and it was not long ere a more fortunate leader preſented himſelf to conduct them to vengeance. The conference which Robert Bruce had held with Wallace on the banks of the Carron had ſunk deep in his mind; he determined to revive the pretenſions of his family, and aſpire to the vacant throne. His ſpirit ſaw the glory alone of the enterpriſe; and he ventured to diſcloſe his thoughts to John Cummin, with whom he lived in ſtrict intimacy. That nobleman approved his intentions; but on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Cummin began to reflect on the deſperate nature of the undertaking; and, to efface his imprudence in conſenting, he baſely revealed the ſecret to the king of England.

Edward did not immediately commit Bruce to cuſtody, becauſe he intended at the ſame time to ſeize his three brothers, who reſided in Scotland. He con-

tented himſelf with ordering him to be watched; but one of the friends of Bruce, appriſed of the circumſtance, yet not daring, amidſt ſo many jealous eyes, to hold any converſation with him, ſent him, by his ſervants, a pair of ſpurs, and a purſe of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and left it to his ſagacity to diſcover his meaning. Bruce penetrated his intention; he ſet off immediately, and travelling through croſs roads, reached Dumfries in Annandale, the chief ſeat of his family intereſt, where he found a number of the Scottiſh nobility aſſembled, and among the reſt, John Cummin, his former aſſociate.

The noblemen were aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Bruce among them; and ſtill more when he diſcovered to them the object of his journey. He told them, he was come to live or die with them, in the defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their aſſiſtance to redeem the Scottiſh name from all the indignities which it had ſo long ſuffered from the tyranny of their imperious maſters: that their mountains and their valour, which had, during ſo many ages, reſiſted the efforts of the Roman empire, would ſtill be ſufficient, were they worthy of their generous anceſtors, to protect them againſt the violence of the Engliſh tyrant; and that at any rate, it was better to periſh like brave men, with ſwords in their hands, than to dread long, and at laſt undergo, the fate of the unfortunate Wallace, whoſe merits in the brave and obſtnate defence of his country were finally rewarded by the axe of an Engliſh executioner.

The generous ſentiments of Bruce, aſſiſted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, impreſſed the minds of his audience, and rouſed them to freedom and revenge. Cummin alone, who had ſecretly taken his meaſures with the king, ſet before them the certain deſtruction they muſt expect if they again ſhook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, appriſed of his treachery, and foreſeeing the certain failure of all his ſchemes from the oppoſition of ſo powerful a leader, took immediately his reſolution.

He followed Cummin, on the diſſolution of the aſſembly, and as he paſſed through the cloyſters of the Gray-friars, he attacked him, and run him through the body.

The murder of Cummin affixed the ſeal to the conſpiracy of the Scottiſh nobles. The genius of the nation rouſed itſelf. Bruce was ſolemnly crowned at Scone. He attacked with fury the Engliſh, diſperſed in their quarters; and again expelled them the kingdom. Edward found that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, muſt yet be anew ſubdued. Not diſcouraged, he ſent Aylmer de Valence with a conſiderable force into Scotland; and that nobleman falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, defeated his army. Bruce himſelf fought with the moſt heroic courage, was thrice diſmounted in the action, but was obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers, and to take ſhelter with a few followers in the weſtern Iſles.

A. D. 1307. The officers of rank who were made priſoners in the battle were immediately put to death by Edward, who, vowing revenge againſt the whole Scotiſh nation, aſſembled a great army, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, when in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the ſixty-ninth of his age, he unexpectedly ſickened, and died near Carliſle, enjoining with his laſt breath, his ſon and ſucceſſor, to proſecute the enterpriſe, and never to deſiſt till he had finally ſubdued the kingdom of Scotland.

But the ſecond Edward inherited not with the throne the vigour of the firſt. When his father expired he was in the twenty-third year of his age, was of an agreeable figure, and of a mild and gentle diſpoſition; but the firſt act of his reign blaſted the hopes which the Engliſh had entertained of him. Bruce emerging from the weſtern Iſles, had again appeared in the field, and had by ſurpriſe obtained an important advantage over Aylmer de Valence. He was now become ſo conſiderable, as to have afforded the king of England ſufficient glory in ſubduing him, without incurring any danger of ſeeing all thoſe mighty preparations made by

his father fail in the enterpriſe. But Edward was equally incapable of, and averſe to buſineſs: he only entered Scotland to retreat; he diſbanded his army, and by this feeble ſtep, convinced his nobles, they might with impunity bid defiance to the royal authority.

Nor were they long in wanting an occaſion to attack thoſe prerogatives, which no longer kept them in awe. Piers Gaveſton, the ſon of a Gaſcon knight, had by his inſinuating addreſs, his elegance of ſhape and perſon, his ſkill in all warlike and genteel exerciſes, and his lively wit, acquired an entire aſcendant over the young Edward. The late king, apprehenſive of the conſequences, had baniſhed him the kingdom; but the preſent no ſooner had aſcended the throne than he recalled him, endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwal, married him to his own neice, ſiſter to the earl of Gloceſter, and ſeemed to enjoy no pleaſure in his royal dignity, but as it enabled him to exalt to the higheſt ſplendour this object of his fond affections.

The haughty barons were offended at the ſuperiority of a minion, whoſe birth they deſpiſed, and who by his profuſion and rapacity, his pomp and arrogance, every day multiplied the number of his enemies. In a journey which the king took to France to eſpouſe the princeſs Iſabella, he left Gaveſton guardian of the realm; and on his return renewed all his proofs of attachment to his favourite. But Iſabella, who was of an imperious and intriguing diſpoſition, finding her huſband's capacity required to be governed, thought herſelf beſt entitled to perform the office, and was well pleaſed to ſee a combination of the nobility formed againſt Gaveſton.

At the head of that combination was Thomas earl of Lancaſter, and couſin-german to the king. He was bold and turbulent, and by his rank gave weight to the party of the barons. He entered the parliament with his adherents in arms, and required the A. D. 1038. 1311.

baniſhment of Gaveſton; Edward was obliged to ſubmit; but inſtead of ſending his favourite back to Gaſcony, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland; in which ſtation Gaveſton diſplayed no inconſiderable ſhare of vigour in chaſtiſing the Iriſh rebels.

But Edward, unhappy in the abſence of his minion, contrived to ſoften ſome of the chiefs of the barons, and depending on their acquieſcence, ventured to recall Gaveſton; the majority were not however ſwayed by the example of their leaders: in defiance of the laws and the king's prohibition, with a numerous retinue of armed followers, they required Edward to devolve for one year, the whole authority of the realm on a choſen junto of twelve; the timid king conſented; and this committee, thus ſanctioned, amongſt other regulations, baniſhed Gaveſton for ever from the king's dominions.

A. D. 1312. As ſoon as Edward, by removing to York, found himſelf out of the terror of the baron's power, he recalled Gaveſton; the barons, provoked at this meaſure, flew to arms; and with the earl of Lancaſter at their head, marched to York. The king fled northwards; but the caſtle of Scarborough, where he had left his favourite, was obliged to ſurrender to the earl of Pembroke: from that nobleman he had obtained a promiſe, that if no accommodation ſhould take place, the caſtle ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he delivered it up. But this promiſe proved a frail ſecurity; he was left, moſt probably intentionally, with a feeble guard in the caſtle of Dedington. That fortreſs was ſurpriſed by the earl of Warwick; and the head of the unhappy Gaveſton, without any regard to the laws or the military capitulation, was ſtruck off by the hands of the executioner.

A. D. 1313. 1314. On the firſt intelligence of the death of his favourite, Edward was violent in his menaces of vengeance; but being leſs conſtant in his enmities than friendſhip, he hearkened to an accommodation, and ſubſcribed a general amneſty

amneſty of all that had paſſed. The affairs of Scotland demanded his attention; the progreſs of Bruce had been rapid; and he cloſely preſſed the caſtle of Stirling, the only fortreſs in that kingdom which held out for the Engliſh; to relieve which, Edward ſummoned his forces from all quarters; and the hoſt which he aſſembled has been eſtimated at an hundred thouſand men. At Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, Bruce with thirty thouſand hardy warriors, inflamed with the love of independence, awaited the charge of the enemy; a hill covered his right flank, a moraſs his left; and to ſcreen his front he had dug deep pits, planted them with ſtakes, and covered them over with turf. The Engliſh, confident in their ſuperior numbers, ruſhed forwards without precaution. Their cavalry was entangled in the pits, their ranks were broken, and the Scottiſh horſe pouring through the openings, ſcattered on every ſide ſlaughter and diſmay. Before they could recover, an army appeared to be marching towards them on their left; this was a number of waggoners, and ſumpter-boys, whom Robert had ſupplied with military ſtandards: the ſtratagem took effect, a panic ſeized the Engliſh; they threw down their arms and fled. They were purſued to the gates of Berwic; and the Scots, beſides an ineſtimable booty, took many perſons of quality priſoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whoſe ranſom was a new acceſſion of wealth to the victorious army.

Such was the deciſive battle of Bannockburn, which fixed the throne of Bruce and ſhook that of Edward. The defeat of the latter rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects. After the death of Gaveſton, he had choſen Hugh Spenſer, a young man of high rank, and noble family, as his favourite. Spenſer poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs, but was neither endowed with prudence nor moderation. His father, who was of the ſame name, was a nobleman ve- A. D. 1315, 1320.

nerable from his years, and qualified by his wiſdom and his valour, to have ſupplied the defects both of the king and his minion; but Edward's attachment rendered the name of Spenſer odious; and the turbulent Lancaſter, and moſt of the great barons, were impatient to atchieve his deſtruction.

A. D. 1321. The claim of Spenſer to an eſtate which had been ſettled on the powerful family of Mowbray, was the ſignal for civil war. Lancaſter and ſeveral of the moſt potent barons, flew to arms; they ravaged the lands of both the Spenſers, who were then abſent on the continent; and having extorted from the king an act of attainder againſt his favourite, and of indemnity for themſelves, they diſbanded their army, and ſeparated in ſecurity, as they imagined, to their ſeveral caſtles.

A. D. 1322. But a ſtorm impended over them; though the queen had ever lived on good terms with them, ſhe had been inſolently refuſed by Badleſmere, a nobleman of Kent, a night's lodging in his caſtle; and ſome of her attendants who preſented themſelves at the gate, were killed. To revenge this inſult, Edward aſſembled an army, and having prevailed againſt Badleſmere, he dropped the maſk, reverſed the ſentence, and recalled the Spenſers; and advanced to the frontiers of Wales, where the chief power of his enemies lay.

Though the barons were ſurpriſed, the influence of Lancaſter and his adherents, ſoon collected an army of thirty thouſand men; with theſe the former took poſt at Burton upon Trent, and endeavoured to defend againſt the royaliſts the paſſage of that river: diſappointed in this deſign, and deſtitute of military genius, Lancaſter fled with his troops towards the north; he was intercepted at Boroughbridge, and after a ſhort action was made priſoner. As he was taken in arms, he was condemned to death by a court martial. Edward though gentle by nature, remembered on this occaſion the fate of Gaveſton; and Lancaſter, after being expoſed to the deriſion of the populace,

populace, was conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own caſtles, and there beheaded,

Several of the the moſt turbulent barons were involved in the guilt and deſtruction of Lancaſter; the greater part of their eſtates were ravaged by young Spenſer, and his rapacity rendered him more obnoxious to the people: that he might have nothing to diſtract his attention from theſe intrigues, Edward, after another fruitleſs attempt on Scotland, had concluded a truce for thirteen years with Bruce, and thus virtually acknowledged his title. He was, however, ſtill embarraſſed by the demands of Charles the Fair, king of France, who required him to appear in his court and do homage for the fees that he held in that kingdom. The queen had been permitted to make a journey to France, to ſoften her brother; but Charles was inflexible; and Spenſer, who had been engaged in many quarrels with Iſabella, was unwilling to attend his maſter to Paris, and appear in a court where her credit might expoſe him to danger. An expedient was therefore propoſed and adopted, that Edward ſhould reſign Guienne to his ſon, now thirteen years of age, and that the prince ſhould render homage to Charles as his ſuperior lord. A. D. 1323, 1325.

This contrivance was fatal both to the king and his favourite. Young Edward was ſent to Paris, where the queen was already ſurrounded by a number of Engliſh fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian faction. Among theſe was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welch marches, who by the graces of his perſon and addreſs, quickly advanced in the affections of Iſabella. He became her confident and counſellor in all her meaſures; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her at laſt to ſacrifice to her paſſion all the ſentiments of honour and of fidelity to her huſband. Having artfully got into her hands the heir of the monarchy, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the king; and when Edward required her ſpeedily to return with the prince, ſhe publicly replied, that ſhe

ſhe would never ſet foot in the kingdom, till Spenſer was removed from his preſence and councils.

This declaration gave freſh ſpirits to the
A. D. 1326. malcontents, and England; and Iſabella, having extended her alliances abroad, by affiancing young Edward, who was incapable to judge of the conſequences, with Philippa daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault, by the aſſiſtance of this prince, and the connivance of her brother, ſhe enliſted three thouſand men, ſailed from the harbour of Dort, and landed without oppoſition on the coaſt of Suffolk. Several of the moſt powerful barons immediately joined her; and to render her cauſe popular, ſhe renewed her declaration that her ſole purpoſe was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spenſers.

Edward, after trying in vain to rouſe the citizens of London to ſome ſenſe of duty, departed for the Weſt, and was hotly purſued to Briſtol by his own brother, the earl of Kent, and the foreign forces under John de Hainault. Diſappointed in the loyalty of thoſe parts, he paſſed over to Wales, leaving the elder Spenſer governor of the caſtle of Briſtol; but the garriſon mutinied againſt him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was without trial condemned to death; he was hanged on a gibbet, his body cut to pieces and thrown to the dogs, and his head expoſed on a pole to the inſults of the populace.

The Welſh had refuſed to arm in the cauſe of Edward, and that unfortunate prince attempting to eſcape to Ireland, was driven back by contrary winds; was diſcovered, committed to the cuſtody of the earl of Leiceſter, and confined in the caſtle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenſer his favourite, who alſo fell into the hands of his enemies, was executed like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial.

The

The queen, to avail herſelf of the prevailing deluſion, ſummoned in the king's name a parliament at Weſtminſter. A charge was drawn up againſt Edward, in which, even though framed by his inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius, or his misfortunes, could be objected againſt him. He was accuſed of incapacity and indolence; of having loſt the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne. It was in vain, amidſt the violence of arms and tumult, to appeal either to law or reaſon. The depoſition of the king was voted by parliament; the prince was placed on the throne; nor was it difficult to extort by terror and menaces the reſignation of Edward. A.D. 1327.

But it was impoſſible that the people, however corrupted by the barbarity of the times, and ſtill farther enflamed by faction, could for ever remain inſenſible to the voice of nature. Here, a wife had firſt deſerted, next invaded, and then dethroned her huſband; had made her minor ſon an inſtrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; had, by lying pretences, ſeduced the nation into a rebellion againſt their ſovereign; had puſhed them into violence and cruelties that had diſhonoured them: all thoſe circumſtances were ſo odious in themſelves, and formed ſuch a complicated ſcene of guilt, that the leaſt reflection ſufficed to open men's eyes, and make them deteſt this flagrant infringement of every public and private duty. The ſuſpicions which ſoon aroſe of Iſabella's criminal commerce with Mortimer, the proofs which daily broke out of this part of her guilt, increaſed the general abhorrence againſt her; and her hypocriſy, in publicly bewailing with tears the king's unhappy fate, was not able to deceive even the moſt ſtupid and moſt prejudiced of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public hatred, the dethroned monarch, who had been the victim of her crimes and her ambition, was regarded with pity, with friendſhip, with veneration: and men became ſenſible, that all his miſconduct, which faction had ſo much exaggerated, had been

been owing to the unavoidable weakneſs, not to any voluntary depravity, of his character. The earl of Leiceſter, now earl of Lancaſter, to whoſe cuſtody he had been committed, was ſoon touched with thoſe generous ſentiments; and beſides uſing his priſoner with gentleneſs and humanity, he was ſuſpected to have entertained ſtill more honourable intentions in his favour. The king, therefore, was taken from his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, Mautravers, and Gournay, who were entruſted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the cuſtody of Berkeley, he was ſtill treated with the gentleneſs due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every ſpecies of indignity was practiſed againſt him, as if their intentions had been to break entirely the prince's ſpirit, and to employ his ſorrows and afflictions, inſtead of more violent and more dangerous expedients, for the inſtruments of his murder. It is reported, that one day, when Edward was to be ſhaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from the ditch for that purpoſe; and when he deſired it to be changed, and was ſtill denied his requeſt, he burſt into tears, which bedewed his cheeks; and he exclaimed, that in ſpite of their inſolence he ſhould be ſhaved with clean and warm water. But as this method of laying Edward in his grave appeared ſtill too ſlow to the impatient Mortimer, he ſecretly ſent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, inſtantly to diſpatch him; and theſe ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as poſſible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's ſickneſs, in whoſe cuſtody he then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending his charge, they came to Berkeley-caſtle, and put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him; thruſt into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they

they inſerted through a horn: and though the outward marks of violence upon his perſon were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was diſcovered to all the guards and attendants, by the ſcreams with which the agonizing king filled the caſtle, while his bowels were conſuming.

The perpetrators of this crime in the enſuing revolution found it neceſſary to fly from the reſentment of their country. Gournay was afterwards ſeized at Marſeilles and beheaded; and though Mautravers, by rendering ſome eſſential ſervice to Edward III. obtained his pardon, it was not until he had languiſhed many years in Germany in continual terror and concealment.

It is not eaſy to imagine a man more innocent and inoffenſive than the unhappy king whoſe tragical death we have related; nor a prince leſs fitted to govern that fierce and turbulent people, ſubjected to his authority. His want of penetration prevented him from chooſing worthy men to guide the reins he was incapable of holding. The ſeditious grandees, pleaſed with his weakneſs, yet complaining of it, under pretence of attacking his miniſters, inſulted his perſon, and invaded his authority; and the impatient populace, miſtaking the ſource of their grievances, threw all the blame upon the king, and increaſed the public diſorders by their faction and violence. The whole machine of government was torn in pieces; and men, inſtead of regretting the manners of their age, and the form of their conſtitution, which required the moſt ſteady and moſt ſkilful hand to conduct them, imputed all errors to the perſon whoſe misfortune it was to be intruſted with the helm of empire.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

War with Scotland.—Execution of Mortimer.—State of Scotland.—War with that kingdom.—King's claim to the crown of France.—War with France.—Naval victory.—Domeſtic diſturbances.—Affairs of Brittany.—Renewal of the war with France.—Invaſion of France.—Battle of Crecy.—War with Scotland.—Captivity of the king of Scots.—Calais taken.—Inſtitution of the garter.—State of France.—Battle of Poictiers.—Captivity of the king of France.—Peace of Bretigny.—State of France.—Expedition into Caſtile.—Rupture with France.—Ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh.—Death of the prince of Wales.—Death and character of the king.

A. D. 1327. 1331. THE violent party which had depoſed Edward II. deemed it requiſite to deſire an indemnity for their illegal proceedings. In the ſame parliament, the attainder againſt the earl of Lancaſter and his adherents was reverſed; and the young earl was appointed guardian of the king's perſon, with a council of regency, conſiſting of five prelates and ſeven lay lords.

The king of Scotland, though declining in health and years, retained his martial ſpirit. He thought the preſent opportunity favourable for invading England, and directed an army of twenty-five thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, to penetrate into Durham. Impatient of military glory, young Edward advanced to repell them at the head of ſixty thouſand Engliſh, and the foreign forces of John of Hainault. The Scots, light and unincumbered, and whoſe ſubſiſtence conſiſted of a bag of oatmeal, which each ſoldier carried behind

hind him, and with a thin plate of iron baked it into a cake in the open fields, long eluded his purſuits. He found them at length encamped on the ſouthern banks of the Were, and though their ſituation was advantageous, he would have hazarded an attack; but his ardour was reſtrained by the prudence or envy of Mortimer: the Scots availed themſelves of the delay, and retired within their own territories; and Edward returned to London highly incenſed againſt Mortimer for the diſappointment he had been expoſed to.

The indignation of the people was joined to that of the prince; nor was it diminiſhed by the treaty which Mortimer concluded with Bruce; in which, for the ſum of thirty thouſand marks, he prevailed on the Engliſh parliament to acknowledge the independence of Scotland. It was not the favour of Iſabella that could protect her paramour in his diſhonourable counſels; the armed force with which he was continually ſurrounded, only rendered him more odious, and he had procured the execution of the earl of Kent, and the impriſonment of the earl of Lancaſter, on an accuſation of having formed a deſign to reſtore the late king, whom they credulouſly believed to be ſtill alive.

The power of Mortimer became formidable to every one; Edward, who had attained his eighteenth year, repined at the fetters in which he was held by this inſolent miniſter; he communicated his intentions to lord Mountacute, who engaged the lords Molins and Clifford, ſir John Nevil of Hornby, ſir Edward Bohun, Ufford, and others, to enter into their views; and the caſtle of Nottingham was choſen for the ſcene of the enterpriſe. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortreſs: the king alſo was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants: and as the caſtle was ſtrictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became neceſſary to communicate the deſign to ſir William Eland the governor, who zealouſly took part in it. By his direction the king's aſſociates were

were admitted through a ſubterraneous paſſage, which had formerly been contrived for a ſecret outlet from the caſtle, but was now buried in rubbiſh; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make reſiſtance, was ſuddenly ſeized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's. A parliament was immediately ſummoned for his condemnation. He was accuſed before that aſſembly of having uſurped regal power from the council of regency appointed by parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy to reſtore that prince; of having ſolicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demeſnes; of having diſſipated the public treaſure; of ſecreting 20,000 marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of other crimes and miſdemeanors. The parliament condemned him, from the ſuppoſed notoriety of the facts, without trial, or hearing his anſwer, or examining a witneſs; and he was hanged on a gibbet at the Elmes, in the neighbourhood of London. It is remarkable that this ſentence was, near twenty years after, reverſed by parliament, in favour of Mortimer's ſon; and the reaſon aſſigned was the illegal manner of proceeding. The principles of law and juſtice were eſtabliſhed in England, not in ſuch a degree as to prevent any iniquitous ſentence againſt a perſon obnoxious to the ruling party; but ſufficient, on the return of his credit or that of his friends, to ſerve as a reaſon or pretence for its reverſal.

The queen, ſtill more guilty than Mortimer, was preſerved by the feelings of her ſon. She was however confined to her own houſe at Riſings near London: and though the king during the remainder of her life paid her a decent viſit once or twice a year, ſhe never was able to reinſtate herſelf in any credit or authority.

A. D. 1332. 1334. Edward having aſſumed the reins of government, applied himſelf to correct the diſorders that had grown up during the lawleſs adminiſtration of Mortimer; the ſeverity with

with which he cauſed juſtice to be executed, ſoon reſtored the kingdom to internal tranquillity, and allowed him leiſure to direct his attention towards Scotland. Robert Bruce was no more; and his ſon David was a minor. Theſe circumſtances encouraged Edward Baliol, the ſon of John, who had been crowned king of Scotland, to aſpire to a throne that had been filled by his father. His pretenſions were ſecretly ſupported by Edward, who connived at a number of the Engliſh barons arming their vaſſals in his cauſe. With theſe allies Baliol landed on the coaſt of Fife, and on the banks of the river Erne, ſurpriſed and defeated the Scots: twelve thouſand of the latter fell in the action, and among theſe the earl of Marre, the regent. The victor immediately marched to Scone, and was crowned there with great pomp, while his competitor David ſought ſhelter in France.

But Baliol, confident in his ſtrength, had no ſooner diſmiſſed his Engliſh allies, than he experienced a ſudden and total reverſe of fortune; he was attacked by ſir Archibald Douglas, and the leaders of the oppoſite party; and after an ineffectual ſtruggle he fled into England.

During his ſhort lived royalty he had ſent a meſſage to Edward, offering to do homage to him for his crown: and that monarch determined to ſeize the favourable opportunity of recovering the conceſſions made by Mortimer during his minority. As the ally of Baliol he inveſted Berwic: forty thouſand Scots, conducted by the regent Douglas, advanced to the relief of that important fortreſs: relying on their ſuperior numbers, they ventured to attack the Engliſh at Halidown-hill: their temerity was chaſtiſed by a total defeat; and ſuch were the effects of diſcipline, that while thirty thouſand Scots fell in the action, the loſs of the Engliſh amounted only to one knight, one eſquire, and thirteen private ſoldiers.

After this fatal blow, the Scottiſh nobles had no other reſource left but ſubmiſſion: Baliol was ac-

knowledged king, by a parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh; the ſuperiority of England was again recogniſed, and the gratitude of Baliol ceded Berwic, Dunbar, and all the ſouth-eaſt counties, to be for ever annexed to the Engliſh monarchy.

A. D. 1334. 1336. This meaſure excited againſt him ſuch a ſtorm of indignation and revolt, that the king of England found it neceſſary to prop, in perſon, the tottering throne of his ally. Twice he entered Scotland in arms, and marched without reſiſtance through the low countries, ravaging the eſtates of thoſe he called rebels. The Scots, taught by experience, retired into their hills and faſtneſſes, and waited a favourable moment for revenge, from the war which was on the point of breaking out between France and England.

A. D. 1337. It had long been a prevailing opinion that the crown of France could never deſcend to a female, and this maxim was ſuppoſed to be confirmed by a clauſe in the Salian code. It had gathered ſtrength from frequent precedents, in the firſt and ſecond race. During the third race, the crown had deſcended from father to ſon for eleven generations, from Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin; and thus, in fact, during the courſe of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had always been governed by males, and no female; and none who founded his title on a female, had ever mounted the throne. Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three ſons, this Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, Iſabella queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldeſt, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret ſiſter to Eudes duke of Burgundy; and as his queen was then pregnant, Philip his younger brother was appointed regent, till it ſhould appear whether the child proved a ſon or a daughter. The queen bore a male, who lived only a few days: Philip was proclaimed king: and as the duke of Burgundy made ſome oppoſition, and aſſert-

ed

ed the rights of his niece, the ſtates of the kingdom, by a ſolemn and deliberate decree, gave her an excluſion, and declared all females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a ſhort reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without diſpute or controverſy, then ſucceeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was alſo ſhort: he left one daughter; but as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion, if the iſſue ſhould prove female. This prince was Philip de Valois, couſin-german to the deceaſed king; being the ſon of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimouſly placed on the throne of France.

The king of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced a notion that he was intitled, in right of his mother, to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the couſin-german. There could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worſe grounded. The principle of excluding females was of old an eſtabliſhed opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the moſt expreſs and poſitive law. It was ſupported by ancient precedents: it was confirmed by recent inſtances, ſolemnly and deliberately decided: and what placed it ſtill farther beyond controverſy, if Edward was diſpoſed to queſtion its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretenſions; ſince the three laſt kings had all left daughters, who were ſtill alive, and who ſtood before him in the order of ſucceſſion. He was therefore reduced to aſſert, that, though his mother Iſabella was, on account of her ſex, incapable of ſucceeding, he himſelf, who inherited through her, was liable to no ſuch objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But, beſides that this pretenſion was more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, deſcended

from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, it was ſo contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of ſucceſſion in every country of Europe, was ſo repugnant to the practice, both in private and public inheritances, that nobody in France thought of Edward's claim: Philip's title was univerſally recognized; and he never imagined that he had a competitor; much leſs ſo formidable a one as the king of England.

But though the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had raſhly entertained this notion, he did not think proper to inſiſt on his pretenſions, which muſt have immediately involved him, on very unequal terms, in a dangerous and implacable war with ſo powerful a monarch. Philip was a prince of mature years, of great experience, and, at that time, of an eſtabliſhed character, both for prudence and valour; and by theſe circumſtances, as well as by the internal union of his people, and their acquieſcence in his undoubted right, he poſſeſſed every advantage above a raw youth, newly raiſed, by injuſtice and violence, to the government of the moſt intractable and moſt turbulent ſubjects in Europe. But there immediately occurred an incident which required that Edward ſhould either openly declare his pretenſions, or for ever renounce and abjure them. He was ſummoned to do homage for Guienne: Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms: that country was in a very bad ſtate of defence: and the forfeiture of ſo rich an inheritance was, by the feudal law, the immediate conſequence of his refuſing or declining to perform the duty of a vaſſal. Edward therefore thought it prudent to ſubmit to preſent neceſſity: he went over to Amiens; did homage to Philip; and as there had ariſen ſome controverſy concerning the terms of this ſubmiſſion, he afterwards ſent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; which was in effect ratifying, and that in the ſtrongeſt terms, Philip's title to the crown of that kingdom. His own claim indeed was ſo unreaſonable, and ſo thoroughly diſavowed

vowed by the whole French nation, that to inſiſt on it was no better than pretending to the violent conqueſt of the kingdom; and it is probable that he would never have farther thought of it, had it not been for ſome incidents which excited an animoſity between the monarchs.

Robert of Artois was deſcended from the blood royal in France, and had eſpouſed Philip's ſiſter: he had been deprived of the county of Artois, by a ſentence commonly deemed iniquitous of Philip the Fair. He attempted to recover it by the unworthy action of forgery, and detected in the crime, he fled to England, and endeavoured to revive the prepoſſeſſion entertained by Edward, of his title to the crown of France. The king was the more diſpoſed to hearken to ſuggeſtions of this nature, becauſe that prince had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and ſupported, at leaſt encouraged, the Scots, in their ſtruggles for independence. Thus reſentment gradually filled the breaſts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation propoſed by the pope, who never ceaſed interpoſing his good offices between them. Philip thought that he ſhould be wanting to the firſt principles of policy if he abandoned Scotland: Edward affirmed, that he muſt relinquiſh all pretenſions to generoſity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert. The former, informed of ſome preparations for hoſtilities which had been made by his rival, iſſued a ſentence of felony and attainder againſt Robert, and declared, that every vaſſal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, would be involved in the ſame ſentence; a menace eaſy to be underſtood. The latter, reſolute not to yield, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries and on the frontiers of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce ſuch a diverſion as might ſave the province of Guienne, which lay ſo much expoſed to the power of Philip.

The king began with opening his intentions to the count of Hainault his father-in-law; and having engaged him in his intereſts, he employed the good offices and counſels of that prince in drawing into his alliance the other ſovereigns of that neighbourhood. The duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promiſe his concurrence: the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the Engliſh alliance. Theſe ſovereign princes could ſupply, either from their own ſtates or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and nought was wanting to make the force on that quarter very formidable but the acceſſion of Flanders; which Edward procured by means ſomewhat extraordinary and unuſual.

As the Flemings were the firſt people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had riſen to a degree of opulence unknown elſewhere to thoſe of their ſtation in that barbarous age; had acquired privileges and independence; and began to emerge from that ſtate of vaſſalage, or rather of ſlavery, into which the common people had been univerſally thrown by the feudal inſtitutions. It was probably difficult for them to bring their ſovereign and their nobility to conform themſelves to the principles of law and civil government, ſo much neglected in every other country. It was impoſſible for them to confine themſelves within the proper bounds in their oppoſition and reſentment againſt any inſtance of tyranny: they had riſen in tumults: had inſulted the nobles: had chaſed their earl into France; and delivering themſelves over to the guidance of a ſeditious leader, had been guilty of all that inſolence and diſorder, to which the thoughtleſs and enraged populace are ſo much inclined, wherever they are unfortunate enough to be their own maſters.

Their

Their preſent leader was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway than had ever been aſſumed by any of their lawful ſovereigns: he placed and diſplaced the magiſtrates at pleaſure: he was accompanied by a guard, who, on the leaſt ſignal from him, inſtantly aſſaſſinated any man that happened to fall under his diſpleaſure: all the cities of Flanders were full of his ſpies: and it was immediate death to give him the ſmalleſt umbrage: the few nobles who remained in the country, lived in continual terror from his violence: he ſeized the eſtates of all thoſe whom he had either baniſhed or murdered; and beſtowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own uſe. Such were the firſt effects that Europe ſaw of popular violence; after having groaned, during ſo many ages, under monarchical and ariſtocratical tyranny.

This ſeditious tradeſman was courted by the haughty Edward with the moſt ſubmiſſive aſſiduity; and d'Arteville, ſenſible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to the Engliſh, and proud of theſe advances from the king, invited him over to the Low Countries. Edward, after having received the conſent of his parliament, paſſed over to Flanders, accompanied by a body of Engliſh forces. Two obſtacles yet prevented him from entering on action; the vaſſals of the empire would not act without the direction of the emperor, who ſtill maintained the exterior of peace with France; and the Flemings pretended the ſame ſcruples with regard to the invaſion of their liege lord. The firſt was overcome by the emperor appointing Edward vicar of the empire; an empty honour, but which ſerved to baniſh the doubts of the German princes; and to obviate the ſecond, Edward, by the advice of d'Arteville, aſſumed the title of king of France. Yet he ventured not on this ſtep without heſitation and reluctance; and his mind ſeemed filled with a preſage of the calamities which would enſue

A. D. 1338, 1339.

to the rival kingdom, from that fatal ſource of eternal enmity.

After a vain attempt on Cambray, Edward advanced to the frontiers of France. He there ſaw the vanity of his expectations; the count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault, his brother-in-law, inſtead of being deceived by the new title he had aſſumed, refuſed to commence hoſtilities againſt their liege lord, and retired with their troops. The king however paſſed the Scheld, and encamped near Capelle with 50,000 men; Philip approached him with an army nearly double in number; the Engliſh monarch was averſe to engage againſt ſo great a ſuperiority; the French thought it ſufficient if he eluded the attacks of his adverſary; the latter ſoon reaped the harveſt of his caution, ſince the exhauſted finances of Edward compelled him to diſband his army, after having anticipated his revenue, and incurred an heavy debt in the fruitleſs enterpriſe.

A. D. 1340. But he was a prince of too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the events. On his return to England, by confirming the ancient charters, and the privileges of boroughs, he obtained from the parliament a conſiderable ſupply, and with a fleet of 250 ſail, embarked for the continent. Near Sluiſe he was oppoſed by the French fleet, conſiſting of 400 ſhips. The inferiority of the Engliſh in number, was compenſated by their nautical ſkill, and the preſence of their monarch; the encounter was fierce and bloody; but in the heat of action, the Flemings, near whoſe coaſt the French had imprudently engaged, iſſued from their harbours, and oppreſſed their weary adverſaries with unexpected fury; two hundred and thirty of the French ſhips were taken, and thirty thouſand of their beſt ſeamen periſhed. So fatal was the loſs, that the courtiers of Philip preſerved a gloomy ſilence; and their ſovereign was at length informed of the national calamity by the privileged tongue of a licenſed jeſter.

The

The ſucceſs of Edward raiſed the ſpirits of his allies, who crowded to his ſtandard, and with an army of above an hundred thouſand men, he inveſted Tournay: that city had been provided with a numerous garriſon by the caution of Philip; but a ſiege of ten weeks had nearly exhauſted their proviſions, when their courage was confirmed by the march of the French king, at the head of a mighty hoſt, to their relief. The latter ſtill declined to hazard his crown in a deciſive action; and contented himſelf with throwing ſuccours into Tournay. Both armies continued in ſight of each other without engaging; and their ſituation induced Jane, counteſs dowager of Hainault, to enterpoſe her good offices to prevent the effuſion of blood. This princeſs was mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip; and her pious efforts prevailed on the monarchs, though they could not lay aſide, at leaſt to ſuſpend their animoſities, by ſubſcribing a truce for a twelve month.

Edward returned to England deeply chagrined at his diſappointment; he vented his ill humour on his own officers; and was determined to make Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he had entruſted to collect the taxes, and whom he accuſed of having been remiſs in his duty, peculiarly ſenſible of his diſpleaſure. That prelate had however fled beyond ſea; and ſcorning to ſtand on the defenſive, he reſolved to ſhew Edward that he knew the privileges of his character, and had courage to maintain them. He iſſued a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all who accuſed a prelate of high treaſon. Edward felt himſelf included in it; and as a mark of his indignation, when he called a parliament, he ſent not to the primate, as to other peers, a ſummons to attend it. But Stratford, encouraged by the ſupport of the clergy, returned to England; he appeared before the gates where the parliament was held, arrayed in his pontifical robes, holding the croſier in his hand, and, accompanied by a pompous train of prieſts and prelates, A.D. 1341.

he

he required admittance as the firſt and higheſt peer of the realm; and though for two days the king reſiſted the application, he at length dropped the accuſation, permitted the primate to take his ſeat, and was reconciled to him.

Edward, to obtain a new ſupply from the parliament, had been reduced to ſubſcribe to nearly the ſame reſtrictions that had been impoſed on Henry III. and Edward II; yet no ſooner was the money collected, than he revoked and annulled his conceſſions; but, though by this moſt unworthy and fraudulent meaſure he recovered his authority at home, the many mortifications he had undergone in his war with France would probably have influenced him to drop his claim, had not a revolution in Britanny opened to him more promiſing views.

John III. duke of Britanny had, during ſome years, found himſelf declining through age and infirmities; and having no iſſue, he was ſolicitous to prevent thoſe diſorders to which, on the event of his demiſe, a diſputed ſucceſſion might expoſe his ſubjects. His younger brother, the count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, whom the duke deemed his heir; and as his family had inherited the dutchy by a female ſucceſſion, he thought her title preferable to that of the count of Mountfort, who, being brother by a ſecond marriage, was the male heir of that principality. He accordingly purpoſed to beſtow his niece in marriage on ſome perſon who might be able to defend her rights; and he caſt his eye on Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France, by his mother Margaret of Valois, ſiſter to that monarch. But as he both loved his ſubjects, and was beloved by them, he determined not to take this important ſtep without their approbation; and having aſſembled the ſtates of Britanny, he repreſented to them the advantages of that alliance, and the proſpect which it gave of an entire ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. The Bretons willingly concurred in his choice: the marriage was concluded: all his vaſſals, and among the reſt the count of Mountfort,

fort, ſwore fealty to Charles and to his conſort, as to their future ſovereigns: and every danger of civil commotions ſeemed to be obviated, as far as human prudence could provide a remedy againſt them.

But on the death of this good prince, the ambition of the count of Mountfort broke through all theſe regulations, and kindled a war, not only dangerous to Britanny, but to a great part of Europe. While Charles of Blois was ſoliciting at the court of France the inveſtiture of the dutchy, Mountfort was active in acquiring immediate poſſeſſion of it; and by force or intrigue he made himſelf maſter of Rennes, Nantz, Breſt, Hennebonne, and all the moſt important fortreſſes, and engaged many conſiderable barons to acknowledge his authority. Senſible that he could expect no favour from Philip, he made a voyage to England, on pretence of ſoliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there, offering to do homage to Edward as king of France, for the dutchy of Britanny, he propoſed a ſtrict alliance for the ſupport of their mutual pretenſions. Edward ſaw immediately the advantages attending this treaty: Mountfort, an active and valiant prince, cloſely united to him by intereſt, opened at once an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than his allies on the ſide of Germany and the Low Countries, who had no ſincere attachment to his cauſe, and whoſe progreſs was alſo obſtructed by thoſe numerous fortifications which had been raiſed on that frontier. Robert of Artois was zealous in enforcing theſe conſiderations. The ambitious ſpirit of Edward was little diſpoſed to ſit down under thoſe repulſes which he had received, and which he thought had ſo much impaired his reputation: and it required a very ſhort negociation to conclude a treaty of alliance between two men who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female ſucceſſion were directly oppoſite, were intimately connected by their immediate intereſts.

As

As this treaty was ſtill a ſecret, Mountfort on his return ventured to appear at Paris, in order to defend his cauſe before the court of peers; but obſerving Philip and his judges to be prepoſſeſſed againſt his title, and dreading their intentions of arreſting him, till he ſhould reſtore what he had ſeized by violence, he ſuddenly made his eſcape, and war immediately commenced between him and Charles of Blois. Philip ſent his eldeſt ſon, the duke of Normandy, with a powerful army, to the aſſiſtance of the latter; and Mountfort, unable to keep the field againſt his rival, remained in the city of Nantz, where he was beſeiged. The city was taken by the treachery of the inhabitants; Mountfort fell into the hands of his enemies; was conducted as a priſoner to Paris; and was ſhut up in the tower of the Louvre.

A. D. 1342. 1343. But the party of Mountfort was ſtill animated by the manly ſpirit of his conſort, who, inſtead of deploring with female weakneſs the captivity of her huſband, rouſed the ſtates of Britanny to reſiſt an uſurper impoſed upon them by the arms of France; inveſted in Hennebonne, ſhe ſuſtained with undaunted courage the aſſaults of Charles of Blois; when the ſtrength of that city ſeemed exhauſted, ſhe broke through the line of the beſiegers, retired to Breſt, and forced her paſſage back with the important ſuccour of five hundred horſe. Theſe examples of female valour, might retard, but could not have averted the fate of Hennebonne; a capitulation had already been propoſed by the biſhop of Leon, when the exulting counteſs beheld from a lofty tower the long expected fleet of England ſteering to her relief. Six thouſand archers, with a body of heavy cavalry were immediately landed, under the command of ſir Walter Manny, a brave and experienced leader: and Charles of Blois was compelled to abandon a ſiege that was become hopeleſs.

A more conſiderable reinforcement followed under the guidance of Robert of Artois; and the impatient exile ſignalized his proweſs by the ſucceſsful attack of Vannes.

Vannes. The Bretons who adhered to Charles, aſſembled to recover this important city; and Robert was compelled to relinquiſh his prey, after receiving a wound which proved mortal; to ſuccour his ally Edward with 12,000 men, landed at Morbien near Vannes, and commenced the three important ſieges of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz; but, by undertaking too much, he failed of ſucceſs in all his enterprizes. The duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon of Philip, appeared in Britanny at the head of an army of 30,000 infantry, and 4,000 cavalry. Edward was obliged to draw together his forces, and to entrench himſelf before Vannes, where the duke of Normandy ſoon after arrived, and in a manner inveſted the beſiegers. The Engliſh camp began to be afflicted by famine; and in this dangerous ſituation Edward willingly accepted the mediation of two legates from the court of Rome: he ſubſcribed a truce for three years, by which all priſoners were to be releaſed, the places in Brittany to remain with the preſent poſſeſſors, and Vannes was to be ſequeſtered into the hands of the legates, to be afterwards diſpoſed of according to their pleaſure. Though ſenſible of the partiality of the Pope to Philip, and the conſequent diſpoſal of Vannes, Edward gladly ſigned to terms, which ſaved his honour, extricated him from his immediate diſtreſs, and diſmiſſed him to meditate new hoſtilities.

Nor was he long without a pretence; he complained that ſome nobles, the partizans of the Houſe of Mountfort, had been puniſhed contrary to the articles of the treaty: the parliament ſeemed to participate in his reſentments; and granted him liberal ſupplies for the renewal of the war. The earl of Derby, with an Engliſh army, paſſed over to Guienne, defeated at Bergerac the French general the count de Liſle, reduced great part of Perigord, until his progreſs was checked by the duke of Normandy, at the head of 100,0000 men, who would probably ſoon have wreſted from the Engliſh their conqueſts, had he not been ſummoned from A. D. 1344. 1345.

improving his advantages, to another quarter of the kingdom, by one of the greateſt diſaſters that ever befel the French monarchy.

A. D. 1346. To ſuccour the earl of Derby, Ewdard had collected at Southampton a fleet of near a thouſand ſail, and an army of thirty thouſand men: he embarked on board it, with his ſon the prince of Wales, and the flower of his nobility; but the winds proving contrary, he was prevailed on to change the object of his deſtination, by Geoffry d'Harcourt, an exiled noble of Normandy, who ſupplied in the councils of the the king the loſs of Robert of Artois. Harcourt ſtrongly urged the advantages that would attend the invaſion of Normandy; deſtitute of any military forces, its fertile fields and opulent towns preſented a rich prey to the invader, while its vicinity to the capital of France rendered every event, in thoſe quarters, of importance. His arguments were deciſive; and Edward ordering his fleet to ſteer for the Norman coaſt, ſafely landed his forces at La Hogue.

He immediately ſpread his army over the whole country; defeated a body of troops which had been collected for the defence of Caen, and carried by aſſault, and plundered that rich city. He moved next towards Rouen; but he found the bridge over the Seine broken down, and the king of France, who had recovered from his ſurpriſe, encamped on the oppoſite bank with an hoſt of one hundred thouſand men. Edward now ſaw that the French intended to encloſe him in their country, in hopes of attacking him on all ſides: by a ſecret and rapid march he gained Poiſſy, paſſed the Seine, and preſſed forward towards Flanders; but the ſame obſtacles preſented themſelves on the Somme: the bridges were either broken down or ſtrongly guarded; a numerous detachment guarded the northern banks; and the hoſt of Philip already preſſed on his rear. The promiſe of liberal reward induced at laſt a peaſant, of the name of Gobian Agace to betray the intereſts of his country, and to inform Edward of a ford below Abbeville. At the head of his troops the king threw himſelf into the

 river

river, drove the enemy from their ſtation, and purſued them over the plain. As his rear guard paſſed, Philip himſelf arrived; but the riſing tide prevented him from following his adverſary over the ford, and obliged him to take his route by the bridge of Abbeville.

As Edward now perceived that a battle was unavoidable, he prepared for it with coolneſs and judgment: he choſe his ground with advantage near the village of Crecy; he drew up his army on a gentle aſcent, and divided them into three lines: the firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales, and under him, by the earls of Warwic and Oxford; the earls of Arundel and Northampton were at the head of the ſecond line; and he remained with the third diviſion himſelf: his flanks were ſecured by trenches, and if we may believe ſome hiſtorians, ſeveral pieces of cannon were placed in his front. As he rode through the ranks, he reminded the ſoldiers of their former exploits, and the victories they had hitherto obtained; and he told them he required nothing more of them, than that they would follow his example, and that of the prince of Wales.

While the Engliſh, inſpired by the ſkill and countenance of their ſovereign, awaited with ſteady compoſure the charge of the French, the latter burning with reſentment, and only afraid leſt their prey ſhould eſcape them, preſſed forwards without order or obedience; the immence hoſt of Philip had been ſwelled in its march to an hundred and twenty thouſand men; but it was without diſcipline; and it arrived in preſence of the Engliſh, imperfectly formed in three lines, and fatigued by its imprudent haſte. The firſt line conſiſting of 15,000 Genoeſe croſs-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria, and Charles Grimaldi; the ſecond was led by the count of Alençon, brother to the king; the king himſelf was at the head of the third, accompanied by the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, and the king of Majorca, with all the nobility and great vaſſals of the crown of France.

The

The Engliſh, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immoveable; and the Genoeſe firſt began the attack. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thunder ſhower, which had moiſtened and relaxed the ſtrings of the Genoeſe croſs-bows; their arrows, for this reaſon, fell ſhort of the enemy. The Engliſh archers, taking their bows out of their caſes, poured in a ſhower of arrows upon this multitude who were oppoſed to them, and ſoon threw them into diſorder. The Genoeſe fell back upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the count of Alençon; who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the ſword. The artillery fired amidſt the crowd; the Engliſh archers continued to ſend in their arrows among them; and nothing was to be ſeen in that vaſt body but hurry and confuſion, terror and diſmay. The young prince of Wales had the preſence of mind to take advantage of this ſituation, and to lead on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering ſomewhat their order, and encouraged by the example of their leader, made a ſtout reſiſtance; and having at laſt cleared themſelves of the Genoeſe runaways, advanced upon their enemies, and by their ſuperior numbers began to hem them round. The earls of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to ſuſtain the prince, who, ardent in his firſt feats of arms, ſet an example of valour which was imitated by all his followers. The battle became, for ſome time, hot and dangerous; and the earl of Warwic, apprehenſive of the event from the ſuperior numbers of the French, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, and entreated him to ſend ſuccours to the relief of the prince. Edward had choſen his ſtation on the top of the hill; and he ſurveyed in tranquillity the ſcene of action. When the meſſenger accoſted him, his firſt queſtion was, whether the prince were ſlain or wounded? On receiving an anſwer in the negative, *Return*, ſaid he, *to my ſon, and tell him that I reſerve the honour of the day to him: I am confident that he will ſhew himſelf worthy of the honour of knighthood which I ſo lately conferred upon him:*

him: he will be able, without my aſſiſtance, to repel the enemy. This ſpeech being reported to the prince and his attendants, inſpired them with freſh courage: they made an attack with redoubled vigour on the French, in which the count of Alençon was ſlain: the whole line of cavalry was thrown into diſorder: the riders were killed or diſmounted: the Welch infantry ruſhed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given that day by the victors.

The king of France advanced in vain with the rear to ſuſtain the line commanded by his brother: he found them already diſcomfited; and the example of their rout increaſed the confuſion which was before but too prevalent in his own body. He had himſelf a horſe killed under him: he was remounted; and, though left almoſt alone, he ſeemed ſtill determined to maintain the combat; when John of Hainault ſeized the reins of his bridle, turned about his horſe, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the ſword, without mercy, by the enemy; till the darkneſs of the night put an end to the purſuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, *My brave ſon! perſevere in your honourable cauſe: you are my ſon; for valiantly have you acquitted yourſelf to-day: you have ſhewn yourſelf worthy of empire.*

This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Crecy, began after three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy; and as the Engliſh obſerved that many of the enemy had loſt their way in the night and in the miſt, they employed a ſtratagem to bring them into their power: they erected on the eminences ſome French ſtandards which they had taken in the battle; and all who were allured by this falſe ſignal were put to the ſword, and no quarter given them. In excuſe for this inhumanity, it was alleged that the French king had given like orders to his troops; but the real

reaſon probably was, that the Engliſh, in their preſent ſituation, did not chuſe to be encumbered with priſoners. On the day of battle, and on the enſuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, 1200 French knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, beſides about 30,000 of inferior rank: many of the principal nobility of France, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The kings alſo of Bohemia and Majorca were ſlain: the fate of the former was remarkable: he was blind from age; but being reſolved to hazard his perſon, and ſet an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each ſide to the horſes of two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and thoſe of his attendants, were afterwards found among the ſlain, with their horſes ſtanding by them in that ſituation. His creſt was three oſtrich feathers; and his motto theſe German words, *Ich dien, I ſerve:* which the prince of Wales and his ſucceſſors adopted in memorial of this great victory. The action may ſeem no leſs remarkable for the ſmall loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh, than for the great ſlaughter of the French: there were killed in it only one eſquire and three knights, and very few of inferior rank; a demonſtration, that the prudent diſpoſition planned by Edward, and the diſorderly attack made by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle; which was indeed the common caſe with engagements in thoſe times.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the meaſures which he purſued after it. Not elated by his preſent proſperity, ſo far as to expect the total conqueſt of France, or even that of any conſiderable provinces; he purpoſed only to ſecure ſuch an eaſy entrance into that kingdom, as might afterwards open the way to more moderate advantages. He knew the extreme diſtance of Guienne: he had experienced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the ſide of the Low Countries, and had already loſt much of his authority

over

over Flanders by the death of d'Arteville, who had been murdered by the populace themſelves, his former partiſans, on his attempting to transfer the ſovereignty of that province to the prince of Wales. The king, therefore, limited his ambition to the conqueſt of Calais; and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the ſlain, he marched with his victorious army, and preſented himſelf before the place.

John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais, and being ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for defence, he encouraged the townſmen to perform to the utmoſt their duty to their king and country. Edward, therefore, ſenſible from the beginning that it was in vain to attempt the place by force, purpoſed only to reduce it by famine: he choſe a ſecure ſtation for his camp; drew entrenchments around the whole city; raiſed huts for his ſoldiers, which he covered with ſtraw or broom; and provided his army with all the conveniencies neceſſary to make them endure the winter ſeaſon, which was approaching. As the governor ſoon perceived his intention, he expelled all the uſeleſs mouths; and the king had the generoſity to allow theſe unhappy people to paſs through his camp, and he even ſupplied them with money for their journey.

While Edward was engaged in this ſiege, which employed him near a twelvemonth, there paſſed in different places many other events; and all to the honour of the Engliſh arms.

The retreat of the duke of Normandy from Guienne left the earl of Derby maſter of the field; and he was not negligent in making his advantage of the ſuperiority. He took Mirebeau by aſſault: he made himſelf maſter of Luſignan in the ſame manner: Taillebourg and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands; Poictiers opened its gates to him; and Derby having thus broken into the frontiers on that quarter, carried his incurſions to the banks of the Loire, and filled all

the ſouthern provinces of France with horror and devaſtation.

The flames of war were at the ſame time kindled in Britanny. Charles of Blois invaded that province with a conſiderable army, and inveſted the fortreſs of Roche de Rien; but the counteſs of Mountfort, reinforced by ſome Engliſh troops under ſir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him during the night in his intrenchments, diſperſed his army, and took Charles himſelf priſoner. His wife, by whom he enjoyed his pretenſions to Britanny, compelled by the preſent neceſſity, took on her the government of the party, and proved herſelf a rival in every ſhape, and an antagoniſt to the counteſs of Mountfort, both in the field and in the cabinet; and while theſe heroic dames preſented this extraordinary ſcene to the world, another princeſs in England, of ſtill higher rank, ſhewed herſelf no leſs capable of exerting every manly virtue.

The Scottiſh nation, after long defending, with incredible perſeverance, their liberties againſt the ſuperior force of the Engliſh, recalled their king David Bruce in 1342. Though that prince, neither by his age nor capacity, could bring them great aſſiſtance, he gave them the countenance of ſovereign authority; and as Edward's wars on the continent proved a great diverſion to the force of England, they rendered the ballance more equal between the kingdoms. In every truce which Edward concluded with Philip, the king of Scotland was comprehended; and when Edward made his laſt invaſion upon France, David was ſtrongly ſolicited by his ally to begin alſo hoſtilities, and to invade the northern counties of England. The nobility of his nation being always forward in ſuch incurſions, David ſoon muſtered a great army, entered Northumberland at the head of above 50,000 men, and carried his ravages and devaſtations to the gates of Durham. But queen Philippa, aſſembling a body of little more than 12,000 men, which ſhe entruſted to the command of lord Piercy, ventured to approach him at Neville's Croſs near that city; and

and riding through the ranks of her army, exhorted every man to do his duty, and to take revenge on theſe barbarous ravagers. Nor could ſhe be perſuaded to leave the field, till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots have often been unfortunate in the great pitched battles which they fought with the Engliſh; even though they commonly declined ſuch engagements where the ſuperiority of numbers was not on their ſide: but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the preſent. They were broken and chaſed off the field: fifteen thouſand of them, ſome hiſtorians ſay twenty thouſand, were ſlain; among whom were Edward Keith earl mareſchal, and ſir Thomas Charteris chancellor: and the king himſelf was taken priſoner, with the earls of Sunderland, Fife, Monteith, Carric, lord Douglas, and many other noblemen.

Philippa having ſecured her royal priſoner in the tower, croſſed the ſea to her conſort; whom ſhe found ſtill engaged in the ſiege of Calais: after a vain attempt to relieve it, at the head of two hundred thouſand men; Philip, had been obliged to abandon that city to its fate: the defence had already been protracted for near an year; and the inhabitants were reduced to the laſt extremity; but Edward would only conſent to ſuſpend the general deſtruction, on condition that ſix of the moſt conſiderable citizens ſhould atone for the obſtinacy of the reſt, by ſubmitting their lives to his diſpoſal, and by preſenting, with ropes about their necks, the keys of the city. While the wretched people, gazed on each other, loſt in deſpair, Euſtace de St. Pierre, whoſe name deſerves to be immortal, offered to encounter death for the ſafety of his friends and companions: the generous flame of enthuſiaſm was ſoon communicated, and five more intreated to ſhare the glory and the danger: they appeared erect and undaunted before the haughty Briton; but Edward was diſſuaded from ſullying his fame by the barbarous ſacrifice, and at the interceſſion of his queen Philippa, he diſmiſſed A. D. 1347.

with preſents, theſe gallant and almoſt diſappointed burghers.

A. D. 1347, 1349. To ſecure the poſſeſſion of Calais, Edward ordered all the late inhabitants to quit the town; and peopled it anew with Engliſh; a policy which probably ſecured ſo long to his ſucceſſors that important fortreſs: he ſoon after, through the mediation of the pope's legates, concluded a truce with France; this was not conſidered as broken by an attempt of Geoffrey de Charni, a French officer, to poſſeſs himſelf of Calais; he had bribed Aimery the governor, with the ſum of twenty-thouſand crowns, to open the gates: Edward informed of the treachery, promiſed Aimery his life on condition that he would turn the contrivance againſt the enemy. The latter gladly conſented; and the king himſelf, accompanied by the prince of Wales, croſſed the ſea to Dover, to be preſent at the action: the French who were admited at the poſtern door were immediately ſlain or made priſoners; and the great gate being thrown open, the king ruſhed forth to battle; the French though aſtoniſhed, behaved with valour: and Edward encountered in ſingle combat, a knight of remarkable bravery, called Euſtace de Ribaumont; the king was twice beaten to the ground by this vigourous adverſary; he twice recovered himſelf; and the victory was undecided, when Ribaumont perceiving himſelf to be left almoſt alone, called out *ſir knight, I yield myſelf your priſoner*, and at the ſame time delivered up his ſword.

The generoſity of the king in victory, at leaſt equalled his gallantry in action; he forebore to reproach Charni with the perfidy of his enterprize; he beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on Ribaumont, whom he acquitted of his ranſom, and preſented with a collar of rich pearls from his own neck; nor can any thing prove more evidently the vaſt ſuperiority aſſumed by the gentry over the other orders of men, than the extreme difference which Edward made by his treatment of

of theſe French knights, and that of the ſix citizens of Calais, who had exerted more ſignal bravery in a cauſe more juſtifiable and more honourable.

It was ſoon after this laſt enterprize, that Edward eſtabliſhed the Order of the Garter; and the general account of its origin is, that the king's miſtreſs, the counteſs of Saliſbury, having dropped her garter in a ball room, Edward, taking it up, obſerved ſome of the courtiers to ſmile, upon which he called out, *Honi ſoit, qui maly penſe, Evil to him that evil thinks*; and in memorial of this event, he inſtituted the Order of the Garter, and gave theſe words as the motto for it.

A damp was thrown over this feſtivity by a deſtructive peſtilence which invaded the kingdom, and is computed to have ſwept away near a third of the inhabitants. In London alone, fifty-thouſand perſons are ſaid to have periſhed: this malady firſt diſcovered itſelf in the north of Aſia, and made its devaſtating progreſs, from one end of Europe to the other; and ſo grievous a calamity ſerved, more than the pacific diſpoſition of the ex-princes, to prolong the truce between France and England.

During this truce, Philip had expired, and his ſon John, hitherto known by the title of the duke of Normandy, aſcended the throne. A. D. 1350. 1355. His piety and ſincerity procured him the ſurname of *Good*; but he poſſeſſed not that maſterly prudence which the ſituation of the kingdom required; and his meaſures were embarraſſed by the intrigues of his kinſman Charles king of Navarre, to whom the epithet of *Wicked* has been with juſtice affixed. That prince was deſcended from the males of the blood royal of France, and had eſpouſed the daughter of John; but theſe ties which ought to have induced him to ſupport, only ſtimulated him to overthrow the throne of his father-in-law. His perſonal qualities were the admiration of France and Navarre; he was courteous, affable, enterprizing and eloquent; but reverſe the portrait, and he was faithleſs, revengeful, and malicious; inſatiate of power, and unreſtrained by prin-

ciple. He had not concealed his pretenſions in right of his mother to the crown of France; and he had ſeduced by his addreſs, Charles, the eldeſt ſon of John, who firſt bore the name of dauphin, from the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to France, to ſhare his councils. But Charles repenting of his folly, revealed the ſecret to his father; and the king of Navarre, with ſeveral of his aſſociates, were ſeized at an entertainment at Rouen: ſome of the latter were immediately led to execution; and the king himſelf was thrown into priſon.

A. D. 1355. This deciſive ſtep was far from proving advantageous to John; Philip, the brother of the king of Navarre, flew to arms, and implored the protection of England; and as the truce was expired, Edward was at liberty to afford him aſſiſtance: from ravaging Picardy, the king himſelf was recalled to check the incurſions of the Scots; he laid waſte the country from Berwic to Edinburgh; and Baliol, who had attended him on this expedition, finding the averſion of his countrymen increaſe, reſigned the crown into Edward's hands, and in lieu received a penſion of two thouſand pounds, with which he paſſed the remainder of his life in retirement.

A. D. 1355, 1356. In the mean time, young Edward accompanied by the earls of Warwic and Saliſbury, had anchored in the Somme, with three hundred ſail: being joined by the vaſſals of Gaſcony, he carried fire and ſword throughout Languedoc: in a ſecond campaign at the head of twelve thouſand men, he penetrated into the heart of France; it was his deſign to have opened a paſſage into Normandy; but the bridges on the Loire were broken down, and when he endeavoured to retreat into Guienne, he was alarmed with the unwelcome intelligence that the French king was at hand, with an army of ſixty thouſand men.

At Maupertius near Poictiers, young Edward prepared for battle, with equal courage and prudence; yet even the moſt ſplendid military qualities could not have extricated

extricated him, had the French availed themſelves of their ſuperior numbers, and contented themſelves with intercepting his proviſions. The prince was indeed ſenſible of his deſperate condition, and he offered to purchaſe a retreat by ceding all his conqueſts, and by ſtipulating not to ſerve againſt France for ſeven years; but John required him to ſurrender himſelf priſoner; this propoſal was rejected by the high ſpirited Edward, who declared that England ſhould never be obliged to pay the price of his ranſom.

This reſolute anſwer cut off all hopes of accommodation; but as the day was already ſpent in negociating, the battle was delayed until the next morning; the interval the prince of Wales employed to ſtrengthen, by new intrenchments, the poſt which he had before ſo judiciouſly choſen; and he contrived an ambuſh of three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the earl of Warwic, the rear by the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himſelf. The lords Chandos, Audeley, and many other brave and experienced commanders, were at the head of different corps of his army.

John alſo arranged his forces in three diviſions, nearly equal: the firſt was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the ſecond by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; the third by the king himſelf, who had by his ſide Philip his fourth ſon and favourite, then about fourteen years of age. There was no reaching the Engliſh army but through a narrow lane, covered on each ſide by hedges; and in order to open this paſſage, the mareſchals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to advance with a ſeparate detachment of men at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of Engliſh archers, who lined the hedges, plied them on each ſide with their arrows; and being very near them,

yet

yet placed in perfect ſafety, they coolly took their aim againſt the enemy, and ſlaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much diſcouraged by the unequal combat, and diminiſhing in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met on the open ground the prince of Wales himſelf, at the head of a choſen body, ready for their reception. They were diſcomfited and overthrown: one of the mareſchals was ſlain: the other taken priſoner: and the remainder of the detachment, who were ſtill in the lane, and expoſed to the ſhot of the enemy, without being able to make reſiſtance, recoiled upon their own army, and put every thing into diſorder. In that critical moment the Captal de Buche unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into ſome confuſion. Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of that young prince and his brothers had been committed, too anxious for their charge or for their own ſafety, carried them off the field, and ſet the example of flight, which was followed by that of the whole diviſion. The duke of Orleans, ſeized with a like panic, and imagining all was loſt, thought no longer of fighting, but carried off his diviſion by a retreat, which ſoon turned into a flight. Lord Chandos called out to the prince, that the day was won; and encouraged him to attack the diviſion under king John, which, though more numerous than the whole Engliſh army, were ſomewhat diſmayed with the precipitate flight of their companions. John here made the utmoſt efforts to retrieve by his valour what his imprudence had betrayed; and the only reſiſtance made that day was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales fell with impetuoſity on ſome German cavalry placed in the front, and commanded by the counts of Sallebruche, Nydo, and Noſto: a fierce battle enſued: one ſide was encouraged by the near proſpect of ſo great a victory: the other was ſtimulated by the ſhame of quitting the field to an enemy ſo much inferior: but the three German generals, together with the duke of Athens conſtable of France,

falling

falling in battle, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himſelf expoſed to the whole fury of the enemy. The ranks were every moment thinned around him: the nobles fell by his ſide one after another: his ſon, ſcarce fourteen years of age, received a wound, while he was fighting valiantly in defence of his father: the king himſelf, ſpent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might eaſily have been ſlain; but every Engliſh gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal priſoner, ſpared him in the action, exhorted him to ſurrender, and offered him quarter: ſeveral who attempted to ſeize him ſuffered for their temerity. He ſtill cried out, *Where is my couſin, the prince of Wales?* and ſeemed unwilling to become priſoner to any perſon of inferior rank. But being told that the prince was at a diſtance on the field, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himſelf to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for murder. His ſon was taken with him.

The prince of Wales, who had been carried away in purſuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was repoſing himſelf after the toils of battle; enquiring ſtill with great anxiety, concering the fate of the French monarch. He diſpatched the earl of Warwic to bring him intelligence; and that nobleman came happily in time to ſave the life of the captive prince, which was expoſed to greater danger than it had been during the heat of the action. The Engliſh had taken him by violence from Morbec: the Gaſcons claimed the honour of detaining the royal priſoner; and ſome brutal ſoldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, had threatened to put him to death. Warwic overawed both parties, and approaching the king with great demonſtrations of reſpect, offered to conduct him to the prince's tent.

The moderation that young Edward diſplayed, has ſtamped for ever his character: at a repaſt which was prepared in his tent for his royal priſoner, he ſerved behind

behind his chair, as if he had been one of his retinue. He refuſed to ſeat himſelf at table, declaring that he was too well acquainted with the diſtance between his own rank, and that of his majeſty, to aſſume ſuch a freedom; all his father's pretenſions to the crown of France were buried in oblivion; and John received, when a captive, thoſe honours which had been denied him when on a throne.

A. D. 1357. The battle of Poictiers was followed by a truce for two years; and the prince of Wales availed himſelf of it, to conduct his royal prize in ſafety to England. He landed at Southwark, and was met by a concourſe of people of all ranks and ſtations. The priſoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white ſteed, diſtinguiſhed by its ſize and beauty, and by the netting of its furniture: the conqueror rode by his ſide in a meaner attire, and carried by a black palfrey. In this ſituation he paſſed through the ſtreets of London, and preſented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the ſame courteſy as if he had been a neighbouring potentate that had voluntarily paid him a viſit.

The captivity of John was productive of the moſt horrible anarchy in France. The dauphin, though endowed with an excellent underſtanding, was ſcarce eighteen years of age, and had neither experience nor authority ſufficient to defend a ſtate aſſailed at once by a foreign power and domeſtic faction. The ſtreets of Paris were diſtracted by party broils, and not unfrequently polluted with blood. The other cities imitated the example of the capital: the ſoldiers releaſed from all diſcipline, ſubſiſted themſelves by plunder and robbery: the peaſants roſe againſt their former lords, levelled their caſtles, and often maſſacred their families with circumſtances of incredible barbarity. Every man was thrown looſe and independent of his fellows; and the populouſneſs of the country, derived from the preceding police of civil ſociety, ſerved only to increaſe the horror and confuſion of the ſcene.

The eſcape of the king of Navarre from priſon, augmented the general diſorder: that monarch revived his abſolute pretenſions to the crown. In all his operations he acted more like the leader of a banditti, than a perſon who aſpired to the head of a regular government: his wild and deſperate projects turned the eyes of the French towards the dauphin; and beneath the prudent and cautious adminiſtration of that prince, France began gradually to aſſume the face of a civil government, and to form ſome plan for its defence and ſecurity.

During the height of the confuſion, Edward had been prevented from puſhing his conqueſts by the exhauſted ſtate of his finances. He had alſo flattered himſelf that he might obtain more ſolid advantages by negociating with his royal priſoner, than by arms: John had even agreed to reſtore the provinces which had been poſſeſſed by Henry II. and his two ſons, and to annex them to England without any obligation of homage. But the dauphin and the ſtates rejected his treaty as diſhonourable, and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, paſſed over to Calais with an hundred thouſand men. A. D. 1358, 1360.

But he found the French had been taught prudence by their former misfortunes. Inſtead of hazarding any action, they kept within the walls of their cities; and though Edward ravaged at pleaſure the open country, and even inſulted the ſuburbs of the capital, he was not able to provoke them to action, or to obtain any deciſive advantage.

This diſappointment induced the king of England to liſten to more moderate terms than he had formerly inſiſted on; and, in a conference between the French and Engliſh commiſſioners at Bretigni, a peace was at laſt concluded on the following conditions. It was ſtipulated that king John ſhould be reſtored to his liberty, and ſhould pay as his ranſom three millions of crowns of gold, about 1,500,000 pounds of our preſent money; which was to be diſcharged at different

different payments: that Edward ſhould for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigort, the Limouſin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other diſtricts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guiſnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other ſide of France: that the full ſovereignty of all theſe provinces, as well as that of Guienne, ſhould be veſted in the crown of England, and that France ſhould renounce all title to feudal juriſdiction, homage, or appeal from them: that the king of Navarre ſhould be reſtored to all his honours and poſſeſſions: that Edward ſhould renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connexions with the Scots: that the diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion of Britanny, between the families of Blois and Mountfort, ſhould be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; and if the competitors refuſed to ſubmit to the award, the diſpute ſhould no longer be a ground of war between the kingdoms: and that forty hoſtages, ſuch as ſhould be agreed on, ſhould be ſent to England as a ſecurity for the execution of theſe conditions.

A. D. 1360, 1364. John was no ſooner ſet at liberty, than he prepared to execute the terms, with that fidelity and honour which diſtinguiſhed his character. But notwithſtanding his endeavours, there occurred many difficulties in fulfilling his purpoſes: the towns and vaſſals in the neighbourhood of Guienne, expreſſed their reluctance at ſubmitting again to the Engliſh dominion; and John, in order to adjuſt theſe differences, took a reſolution of coming over to England: to his council that endeavoured to diſſuade, he made the memorable anſwer, *that though good faith was baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, ſhe ought ſtill to retain her habitation in the breaſt of princes.* He therefore croſſed the ſeas, was received with every mark of reſpect by Edward, was lodged in the Savoy, where he had reſided

ſided during his captivity, and where he ſoon after ſickened and died, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

Charles, the Dauphin, who ſucceeded him, immediately directed his attention to the internal diſorders which afflicted his kingdom. He obliged the king of Navarre to ſubſcribe an equitable peace: and though in the war which ſtill raged in Britanny, the young count of Mountfort acquired the entire poſſeſſion of that dutchy by a battle in which his rival, the count of Blois periſhed, the prudence of the king of France broke the blow, by acknowledging the title and receiving the homage of the victor. A. D. 1364, 1368.

But the chief embarraſſment of Charles proceeded from large bands of military adventurers who had followed the ſtandard of Edward; but who on the concluſion of peace refuſed to lay down their arms, perſevered in a life of rapine, and aſſociated themſelves under the name of *companions*. Their leaders fought pitched battles with the troops of France; and wanted little but regular eſtabliſhments to have become princes. Charles, unable to reſtrain them by force, thought of diſcharging into foreign countries, this dangerous and inteſtine evil.

Peter, king of Caſtile, ſtigmatized by his contemporaries and by poſterity with the epithet of *Cruel*, had filled with blood and murder his kingdom and his own family; and having incurred the univerſal hatred of his ſubjects, he kept, from preſent terror alone, an anxious and precarious poſſeſſion of the throne. His nobles fell every day the victims of his ſeverity: he put to death ſeveral of his natural brothers from groundleſs jealouſy: each murder, by multiplying his enemies, became the occaſion of freſh barbarities: and as he was not deſtitute of talents, his neighbours, no leſs than his own ſubjects, were alarmed at the progreſs of his violence and injuſtice. The ferocity of his temper, inſtead of being ſoftened by his ſtrong propenſity to love, was rather inflamed by that paſſion, and took thence new occaſion to exert

itſelf.

itſelf. Inſtigated by Mary de Padilla, who had acquired the aſcendant over him, he threw into priſon Blanche de Bourbon, his wife, ſiſter to the queen of France; and ſoon after made way by poiſon for the eſpouſing of his miſtreſs.

Henry, count of Tranſtamare, his natural brother, ſeeing the fate of every one who had become obnoxious to this tyrant, took arms againſt him; but being foiled in the attempt, he ſought for refuge in France, where he found the minds of men extremely inflamed againſt Peter, on account of his murder of the French princeſs. He aſked permiſſion of Charles to enliſt the *companions* in his ſervice, and to lead them into Caſtile; where, from the concurrence of his own friends, and the enemies of his brother, he had the proſpect of certain and immediate ſucceſs. The French king, charmed with the project, employed du Gueſclin in negociating with the leaders of theſe banditti. The treaty was ſoon concluded. The high character of honour which that general poſſeſſed made every one truſt to his promiſes: though the intended expedition was kept a ſecret, the companions implicitly inliſted under his ſtandard: and they required no other condition before their engagement, than an aſſurance that they were not to be led againſt the prince of Wales in Guienne. But that prince was ſo little averſe to the enterpriſe, that he allowed ſome gentlemen of his retinue to enter into the ſervice under du Gueſclin.

Du Gueſclin having completed his levies, led them acroſs the Pyrenees. The inhabitants of Caſtile joined the ſtandard of the count of Tranſtamere; and the tyrant juſtly odious, and generally deſerted, fled from the indignation of his ſubjects; and ſought refuge in Guienne. He ſolicited the protection of young Edward, whom his father had inveſted with the ſovereignty of theſe conquered provinces, by the title of the principality of Aquitaine. That prince ſeemed entirely to have changed his ſentiments; he regarded the fallen monarch with compaſſion, and dreaded the powerful confederate that France might acquire

acquire in the new king of Caſtile. He determined to reſtore Peter, and after levying a numerous army, he recalled the companions from the ſupport of Henry. Moſt of theſe obeyed a voice they were accuſtomed to reverence; yet Henry, beloved by his new ſubjects, and reinforced by the king of Arragon, beheld himſelf at the head of one hundred thouſand men. Du Gueſclin, and the moſt experienced generals, would have diſſuaded him from hazarding an action with Edward, whoſe former ſucceſs had inſpired his troops with confidence, and his enemies with terror. But Henry truſted to his numbers, which trebled thoſe of his adverſary; and he ventured to encounter the Engliſh prince at Nagara. The hoſt of Henry was routed with the loſs of twenty thouſand men; du Gueſclin himſelf was taken priſoner; while only four knights and forty privates periſhed on the part of Edward.

Caſtile immediately ſubmitted to Peter, who once more aſcended the throne. But the ſatisfaction which the prince of Wales experienced in this perilous enterpriſe, was ſoon allayed by the ingratitude of the tyrant, who refuſed the reward which he had promiſed to the Engliſh; and Edward returned to Guienne with his army diminiſhed, and his own conſtitution fatally impaired by the climate.

The barbarities exerciſed by Peter over his ſubjects, revived all the animoſity of the Caſtilians: to enable Henry of Tranſtamare to avail himſelf of their diſcontents, the king of France not only furniſhed him with money, but paid the ranſom of du Gueſclin. The moment theſe entered Caſtile in arms, the tyrant was again dethroned, was taken priſoner, and put to death by his brother, who ſeated himſelf on the throne. The duke of Lancaſter, the third ſon of the king of England, who eſpouſed the eldeſt daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that ſovereignty, and by claiming the ſucceſſion, increaſed the animoſity of the new king of Caſtile to England.

A. D. 1368, 1370. But the prejudice which the affairs of prince Edward received from this expedition ended not with it; he had involved himſelf in ſo much debt, that he found it neceſſary on his return, to impoſe on his principality a new tax on hearths: the people, diſguſted by this meaſure, caſt their eyes on their ancient ſovereign, and carried their complaints to Charles, who had now reſtored order to his kingdom, as to their lord paramount, againſt theſe oppreſſions of the Engliſh government.

By the treaty of Bretigny, Charles had renounced all claim of fealty over thoſe provinces which were appropriated to England: but treaties ſeldom bind princes longer than is conſiſtent with their intereſts, Charles affected to liſten to the complaints of the deputies of Guienne, and at length ſummoned Edward to appear at his court at Paris, and juſtify his proceeding againſt his vaſſals. The anſwer of Edward was ſuggeſted by the memory of his former victories; "*I will come indeed to Paris,*" replied the prince, "*but it ſhall be at the head of ſixty thouſand men.*"

Charles immediately fell upon Ponthieu; the cities of Abbeville, St. Valori, and Crotoi, opened their gates to him. The ſouthern provinces were invaded by his brothers the dukes of Berri and Anjou, guided by the experience of du Gueſclin. In one action Chandos, the conſtable of Guienne was ſlain; in another the captal of Buche, one of the beſt officers in the ſervice of Edward, was made priſoner. The prince of Wales, debilitated by diſeaſe, was incapable of mounting on horſeback, and returning to England, committed the conduct of the war to his generals. In a vain attempt to throw ſuccour into Guienne, the earl of Pembroke with his whole ſquadron was taken near Rochelle, by a fleet which the king of Caſtile had fitted out in ſupport of his ally. The old king, with another army, embarked himſelf for Bourdeaux, but was ſo long detained by contrary winds, that he was obliged to lay aſide the enterpriſe. The duke of Lancaſter,

Lancaſter, indeed, with 25,000 men, marched the whole length of France, from Calais to Bourdeaux: but he was ſo harraſſed, that he brought not half his army to the place of their deſtination; and Edward was obliged to conclude a truce, after ſeeing almoſt all his ancient poſſeſſions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, raviſhed from him, and all his conqueſts except Calais.

The decline of the king's life correſponded not with the preceding part of it. Beſides the loſs of his of dominions abroad, he felt the decay of his authority at home. His youth had been occupied by ambition, but in his age he had indulged in pleaſure: he had attached himſelf to a lady called Alice Pierce, whoſe aſcendancy over him gave ſuch general diſguſt, that in order to ſatisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court. The influence alſo of the duke of Lancaſter, who was far from popular, occaſioned jealouſy, leſt on the death of the prince of Wales, the ſucceſſion of his ſon Richard ſhould be defeated by the weak indulgence of the old king. But Edward, in order to ſatisfy both the people and the prince on this head, declared in parliament his grandſon heir and ſucceſſor to the crown, and thereby cut off all the hopes of the duke of Lancaſter, if he ever had the temerity to entertain any. A. D. 1370, 1376.

The prince of Wales, after a lingering illneſs, died in the forty-ſixth year of his age; and left a character, illuſtrious for every eminent virtue, and from his earlieſt youth, till the hour he expired, unſtained by any blemiſh. His valour and military talents formed the ſmalleſt part of his merit: his generoſity, humanity, affability, moderation, gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a luſtre, not only on that rude age in which he lived, and which nowiſe infected him with its vices, but on the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory. The king ſurvived about a year this melancholy incident: England

was deprived at once of both theſe princes, its chief ornament and ſupport: he expired in the ſixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-firſt of his reign; and the people were then ſenſible, though too late, of the irreparable loſs which they had ſuſtained.

The Engliſh are apt to conſider with peculiar fondneſs the hiſtory of Edward III. and to eſteem his reign, as it was one of the longeſt, the moſt glorious alſo, that occurs in the annals of their nation. The aſcendancy which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and ſuppoſed national enemy, makes them caſt their eyes on this period with great complacency, and ſanctifies every meaſure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domeſtic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his adminiſtration, a longer interval of domeſtic peace and tranquillity than ſhe had been bleſt with in any former period, or than ſhe experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiouſneſs: he made them feel his power, without their daring, or even being inclined, to murmur at it: his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generoſity, made them ſubmit with pleaſure to his dominion; his valour and conduct made them ſucceſsful in moſt of their enterpriſes; and their unquiet ſpirits, directed againſt a public enemy, had no leiſure to breed thoſe diſturbances to which they were naturally ſo much inclined, and which the frame of the government ſeemed ſo much to authoriſe. This was the chief benefit which reſulted from Edward's victories and conqueſts. His foreign wars were, in other reſpects, neither founded in juſtice, nor directed to any ſalutary purpoſe. His attempt againſt the king of Scotland, a minor and a brother-in-law, and the revival of his grandfather's claim of ſuperiority over that kingdom, were both unreaſonable and ungenerous; and he allowed himſelf to be too eaſily ſeduced, by the glaring proſpect

pect of French conqueſts, from the acquiſition of a point which was practicable, and which, if attained, might really have been of laſting utility to this country and his ſucceſſors. The ſucceſs which he met with in France, though chiefly owing to his eminent talents, was unexpected; and yet, from the very nature of things, not from any unforeſeen accidents, was found, even during his life-time, to have procured him no ſolid advantages. But the glory of a conqueror is ſo dazzling to the vulgar, the animoſity of nations is ſo violent, that the fruitleſs deſolation of ſo fine a part of Europe as France, is totally diſregarded by us, and is never conſidered as a blemiſh in the character or conduct of this prince. And indeed, from the unfortunate ſtate of human nature, it will commonly happen, that a ſovereign of genius, ſuch as Edward, who uſually finds every thing eaſy in his domeſtic government, will turn himſelf towards military enterpriſes, where alone he meets with oppoſition, and where he has full exerciſe for his induſtry and capacity.

Edward had a numerous poſterity by his queen, Philippa of Hainault. His eldeſt ſon was the heroic Edward, uſually denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. This prince eſpouſed his couſin Joan, commonly called the *Fair Maid of Kent*, daughter and heir of his uncle, the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was firſt married to ſir Thomas Holland, by whom ſhe had children. By the prince of Wales ſhe had a ſon Richard, who alone ſurvived his father.

The ſecond ſon of king Edward (for we paſs over ſuch as died in their childhood) was Lionel duke of Clarence, who was firſt married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the earl of Ulſter, by whom he left only one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer earl of Marche. Lionel eſpouſed in ſecond marriage Violante, the daughter of the duke of Milan, and died in Italy ſoon after the conſummation of his nuptials, without leaving any poſterity by that

princeſs. Of all the family, he reſembled moſt his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

Edward's third ſon was John of Gaunt, ſo called from the place of his birth: he was created duke of Lancaſter; and from him ſprang that branch which afterwards poſſeſſed the crown. The fourth ſon of this royal family was Edmund, created earl of Cambridge by his father, and duke of York by his nephew. The fifth ſon was Thomas, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and that of duke of Glouceſter from his nephew. In order to prevent confuſion, we ſhall always diſtinguiſh theſe two princes by the titles of York and Glouceſter, even before they were advanced to them.

There were alſo ſeveral princeſſes born to Edward by Philippa; to wit, Iſabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, who eſpouſed, in the order of their names, Ingelram de Coucy earl of Bedford, Alphonſo king of Caſtile, John of Mountfort duke of Britanny, and John Haſtings earl of Pembroke. The princeſs Joan died at Bourdeaux before the conſummation of her marriage.

Under the reign of Edward, the parliament aroſe to greater conſideration than it had known during any former time: and even the houſe of commons, which, during turbulent and factious periods, was naturally depreſſed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to appear of ſome weight in the conſtitution.

A ſtatute was paſſed by this prince, which limited the caſes of high treaſon to three principal heads; conſpiring the death of the king, levying war againſt him, and adhering to his enemies; and the judges were prohibited, if any other caſes occurred, from inflicting the penalty of treaſon without an application to parliament.

Commerce and induſtry remained at a low ebb; yet it appears from a record in the exchequer, that in 1354 the exports of England amounted to 294,184l. 17s. 2d. the imports to 38,970l. 3s. 6d. money

money of that time: this is a great balance, considering that it arose wholly from the exportation of new wool and other rough materials; the import was chiefly linen, fine cloth, and some wine.

It has been an established opinion that gold coin was not struck till this reign; but there lately has been found proof that it is as ancient as Henry III.

CHAPTER VI.

Government during the minority—Inſurrection of the common people.—Diſcontents of the barons.—Cabals of the duke of Gloceſter—His murder.—Baniſhment of the duke of Hereford—His return.—Depoſition of the king—His murder.—Henry the Fourth.—Commotion in Wales.—Rebellion of the earl of Northumberland.—Battle of Shrewſbury.—Death and character of the king.—Early conduct of Henry the Fifth—His reformation.—State of France.—Invaſion of that kingdom.—Battle of Agincourt.—State of France.—New invaſion of that kingdom.—Aſſaſſination of the duke of Burgundy.—Treaty of Troyes.—Marriage of the king.—His death and character.

A. D. 1377. 1381. RICHARD was but eleven years of age when his grandfather expired; but his inexperience was ſupplied by his three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Gloceſter; the firſt was neither enterpriſing nor popular; the ſecond was indolent, and of ſlender capacity; the third was turbulent, bold, and poſſeſſed the affections of the people; but being the youngeſt of the family, was reſtrained by the power and authority of his elder brothers.

As Edward had taken no care to eſtabliſh a plan of government during the minority of his grandſon, it behoved the parliament to ſupply the defect; and, on this occaſion, the commons took the lead: at their requiſition, the houſe of lords appointed a council of nine, to whom they gave authority for a year to direct the public buſineſs, and to inſpect the education of the young prince: on this footing then the government ſtood;

ſtood; the adminiſtration was conducted entirely in the king's name; no regency was expreſsly appointed; and the whole ſyſtem was, for ſome years, kept together by the ſecret authority of the king's uncles.

Edward had left his grandſon involved in many dangerous wars: beſides thoſe with France and Scotland, the pretenſions of the duke of Lancaſter to Caſtile, were the ſource of hoſtilities with that country: Charles V. was indeed no more; and his ſon Charles VI. was a minor; yet, though encouraged by this circumſtance, the duke of Lancaſter ravaged Brittany; and the duke of Glouceſter, with only 2000 cavalry and 8000 infantry, penetrated into the heart of France. Such was the caution of the French, that they declined to hazard any deciſive action; and theſe enterpriſes were only productive of a fruitleſs expence of blood and treaſure.

To ſupply the latter, the parliament impoſed a new tax of three groats on every perſon above fifteen years of age; but the minds of the populace were unfavourably diſpoſed for this meaſure; they had began to wiſh for a better condition, and to murmur againſt the oppreſſion of the nobility. Two verſes were frequent in their mouths:

"When Adam delv'd and Eve ſpan,
"Where was then the gentleman."

Theſe doctrines were greedily received by the multitude, and engraven on their hearts, when a critical incident fanned the ſparks of general revolt into open flame.

The tax-gatherers demanded, of a blackſmith of Eſſex, payment for his daughter, whom he aſſerted to be below the age aſſigned by the ſtatute. One of theſe fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and laid hold of the maid, which the father reſenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The action was applauded; the people flew to arms; the ſedition ſpread from the county of Eſſex, into that of Kent, of Hertford, Surry, Suſſex, &c. The leaders aſſumed the feigned names

of

of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw; they committed the moſt outrageous violence on the gentry and nobility that had the misfortune to fall into their hands; they aſſembled their followers on Blackheath, to the number of an hundred thouſand; they broke into the city, and required of the king the abolition of ſlavery, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impoſt, and a fixed rent of lands, inſtead of ſervices of villainage.

Though charters to this purpoſe were granted them, ſeveral parties continued to inſult and plunder the capital; and the king paſſing along Smithfield, very ſlenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of theſe rioters, and entered into a conference with him; Tyler having ordered his companions to retire, till he ſhould give them a ſignal, after which, they were to murder all the company, except the king himſelf, whom they were to detain priſoner, feared not to come into the midſt of the royal retinue. He there behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, that Walworth, the mayor of London, not able to bear his inſolence, drew his ſword, and ſtruck him ſo violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was inſtantly diſpatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, ſeeing their leader fall, prepared themſelves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himſelf, had undoubtedly periſhed on the ſpot, had it not been for an extraordinary preſence of mind which Richard diſcovered on the occaſion. He ordered his company to ſtop; he advanced alone towards the enraged multitude; and accoſting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he aſked them, "What is "the meaning of this diſorder, my good people? Are "ye angry that ye have loſt your leader? I am your "king: I will be your leader." The populace, overawed by his preſence, implicitly followed him: he led them into the fields, to prevent any diſorder which might have ariſen by their continuing in the city: being there joined by ſir Robert Knolles, and a body of well-armed veteran ſoldiers, who had been ſe-

 cretly

cretly drawn together, he ſtrictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters, and committing an undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter upon them; and he peaceably diſmiſſed them with the ſame charters which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after, the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers; and Richard took the field at the head of an army 40,000 ſtrong. It then behoved all the rebels to ſubmit: the charters of enfranchiſement and pardon were revoked by parliament; the low people were reduced to the ſame ſlaviſh condition as before; and ſeveral of the ringleaders were ſeverely puniſhed for the late diſorders.

A. D. 1382. 1385.

The addreſs and courage which Richard diſcovered at ſixteen, naturally inſpired a hope, that he would, in the courſe of his life, rival the glories of his father and grandfather; but, as he advanced in years, his want of judgment appeared in every enterpriſe. With 60,000 men he invaded Scotland, and advanced to Edinburgh, laying waſte the country in his march. But he was too impatient to enjoy his uſual pleaſures and amuſements, to remain long in that dreary country; and he led back his army without effecting any thing of importance by all theſe mighty preparations.

A. D. 1386. 1388.

The ſubjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly the duke of Gloceſter, was extremely diſagreeable to his violent temper. He had choſen for a favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of diſſolute manners; he had created him duke of Ireland, and tranſferred to him, by patent, the entire ſovereignty of that iſland. The jealouſy of power immediately produced an animoſity between the minion and his creatures on the one hand, and the princes of the blood and the chief nobility on the other. The latter directed the houſe of commons to impeach Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and chancellor, a perſon of the greateſt ability among

among thoſe who were attached to the duke of Ireland. The king, at firſt, in hopes of ſtopping their proceedings, retired from the parliament; but this ſtep only ſerved to exaſperate that aſſembly; a menace of depoſition was even made hereof; and Richard, incapable of reſiſtance, conſented to return, on condition no attack ſhould be made on his other miniſters.

Theſe diſſenſions, with the abſence of the duke of Lancaſter, with the flower of the Engliſh military force, in proſecution of his vain claim on Caſtile, an enterpriſe in which he was finally diſappointed, induced the French to attempt the invaſion of England; but before their troops could embark, their fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and ſeveral of their veſſels were taken by the Engliſh.

For ſome time Gloceſter and his aſſociates maintained their engagements with the king; and, after depriving Suffolk of his office, had left the other miniſters of the crown unmoleſted. But they directed their attacks againſt himſelf and his dignity, and framed a commiſſion, by which the ſovereign power was transferred to a council of fourteen perſons for a twelvemonth. The king, who had juſt entered into his 21ſt year, ſigned, but ſecretly proteſted againſt, this commiſſion. His eager temper was, of itſelf, ſufficiently inclined to ſeek the means both of recovering his authority, and of avenging the invaſion of it. But his intention had not eſcaped the vigilance of the duke of Gloceſter and his adherents; and, to prevent him from executing them, they rapidly aſſembled their vaſſals, and appeared near Highgate, with a power which Richard and his miniſters were not able to reſiſt. They demanded, that the duke of Ireland, with ſeveral other obnoxious perſons, ſhould be delivered up to them as traitors. The former, after having in vain attempted to maintain his ſituation by arms, fled to the Low Countries, where he died a few years after in exile. The archbiſhop of York and the earl of Suffolk, who had been impeached with him, were fortunate

tunate enough to conceal themſelves; but ſir Robert Treſilian, and ſir Nicholas Brembre, were ſeized and put to death. Sir Simon Bailey alſo, a gentleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many honourable actions, who had been adorned with the order of the garter, and had been appointed governor to Richard, by the choice of the late king and the Black Prince, fell a ſacrifice on this occaſion: nor could even the queen, whoſe amiable qualities had procured her the appellation of the *Good Queen Ann*, obtain his pardon, though, for that purpoſe, ſhe knelt for three hours before the implacable Gloceſter.

In leſs than a twelvemonth, it appears, however, that Richard regained his authority; though, by what means, the imperfect hiſtory of this reign does not allow us to deſcribe; he uſed it with great moderation; and, though he removed, for a time, the duke of Gloceſter from his council, he never attempted to recall the duke of Ireland; and he courted the affections of his people by voluntarily remitting ſome ſubſidies that had been granted him. A.D. 1389.

Soon after the reſtoration of the government to its natural ſtate, the duke of Lancaſter returned from Spain, having reſigned all pretenſions to the crown of Caſtile. The authority of this prince ſerved to counterbalance that of the duke of Gloceſter; and Richard, who found his elder uncle more moderate than the younger, would have ceded to him the duchy of Guienne, could the conſent of the inhabitants have been obtained. He found the means of gratifying him in a different way. Lancaſter, after the death of the Spaniſh princeſs, had married Catherine Swineford, daughter of a private knight, of Hainault, by whoſe alliance York and Gloceſter thought the dignity of their family much injured. But the king paſſed in parliament, a charter of legitimation to the children whom that lady had born to his uncle before marriage, and even created the eldeſt earl of Somerſet.

A. D. 1389, 1396. Meanwhile, the wars which Richard had inherited with his crown, ſtill continued: on the northern borders, a fierce but indeciſive action was fought between young Piercy, ſurnamed, from his impetuous valour, *Hotſpur*, and the earl of Douglas. The former was taken priſoner, the latter killed. Some inſurrections of the Iriſh, obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience; and recovered, in ſome degree, his character for courage. He ſoon after eſtabliſhed a truce of twenty-five years with France; and, to render the amity of the two crowns more durable, Richard, who was become a widower, was affianced to Iſabella, the daughter of Charles, then only ſeven years of age.

A. D. 1397. The king had agreed to this unequal alliance, chiefly, that he might fortify himſelf againſt the ambition of his uncles, and the turbulence of his barons. The duke of Gloceſter ſtill continued his cabals; and, if we may believe Froiſſard, a contemporary hiſtorian, he propoſed to his nephew Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, whom Richard had declared his ſucceſſor, to give him immediate poſſeſſion of the throne, by the depoſition of a prince ſo unworthy of power and authority. It is certain, at leaſt, that he inveighed with indecent boldneſs againſt the conduct of the king, and the late truce with France. His imprudence revived the reſentment that his former violence kindled; the precipitate temper of Richard allowed of no deliberation; he ordered Gloceſter to be unexpectedly arreſted, and to be conveyed to Calais, where alone, by reaſon of his numerous partiſans, he could ſafely be detained in cuſtody.

A parliament was immediately ſummoned at Weſtminſter; and that aſſembly, in compliance with the wiſhes of the king, paſſed ſentence againſt the duke of Gloceſter and his aſſociates, who had appeared againſt their ſovereign, in an hoſtile manner, at Haringay Park. The earl of Arundel was executed, the earl of Warwic

Warwic baniſhed, though the crime for which they were condemned had been obliterated by time, and by repeated pardons. A warrant was iſſued to the earl mareſchal, to bring over the duke of Gloceſter, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for anſwer, that the duke had died ſuddenly of an apoplexy. Nothing could be more ſuſpicious than ſuch an event; it became immediately the general opinion, that he was murdered by orders from his nephew. In the ſubſequent reign, undoubted proofs were produced, in parliament, that he had been ſuffocated; and, it appeared that the king, apprehenſive leaſt the execution of ſo popular a prince might prove dangerous, had taken this baſe method of gratifying, and, as he fancied, of concealing his revenge.

After the deſtruction of the duke of Gloceſter, and the heads of that party, a rupture enſued between the noblemen who had joined in the proſecution. The duke of Hereford, ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, accuſed the duke of Norfolk of having ſpoken many ſlanderous words of the king. Norfolk denied the charge, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel; the challenge was accepted; the time and place of combat were appointed; and the liſts were prepared at Coventry before the king. The whole nation was held in ſuſpence with regard to the event; but when the two champions appeared in the field, ready to encounter, the king interpoſed; and, to prevent the effuſion of blood, commanded both to leave the kingdom, aſſigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual; and another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years. A. D. 1398.

The ſubmiſſion which Hereford affected in theſe delicate circumſtances, induced the king to ſhorten his exile four years; and, he alſo granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in caſe any inheritance ſhould, in the interval, accrue to him, to enter immediately into poſſeſſion, and to poſtpone the doing of homage until his return.

But

A. D. 1399. But the weakneſs of Richard's counſels appear no way more evident than in the conduct of this affair; his jealouſy was awakened by being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king; and on the death of the duke of Lancaſter, which happened ſoon after, Richard revoked his letters patent, and ſeized the eſtate of his deceaſed uncle Henry of Hereford, who was now become duke of Lancaſter, had ſerved with diſtinction againſt the infidels of Lithuania, and, to the praiſes of prudence and penetration, had joined thoſe of piety and valour. He was connected with moſt of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendſhip; and as the injury done to him might affect them all, he eaſily brought them to partake in his reſentment. The common people readily transferred to him that attachment which the death of the duke of Gloceſter had left without any fixed direction. His misfortunes were lamented; the injuſtice which he had ſuffered were complained of; and all men turned their eyes towards him, as the only perſon who could retrieve the loſt honour of the nation.

While ſuch were the diſpoſitions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his couſin, Roger earl of Marche, the preſumptive heir of the crown, who had lately been ſlain in a ſkirmiſh with the natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open to the attempts of his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry, embarking at Nantz with a retinue of ſixty perſons, among whom were the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire; and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt potent barons in England. Here he took a ſolemn oath, that he had no other purpoſe in this invaſion, than to recover the duchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detained from him; and he invited all his friends in England,

land, and all lovers of their country, to ſecond him in this reaſonable and moderate pretenſion. Every place was in commotion: the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; London diſcovered the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of its diſpoſition to mutiny and rebellion; And Henry's army, increaſing on every day's march, ſoon amounted to the number of 60,000 combatants.

The duke of York was left guardian of the realm; a place to which his birth entitled him, but which both his ſlender abilities, and his natural connexions with the duke of Lancaſter, rendered him utterly incapable of filling in ſuch a dangerous emergency. Such of the chief nobility as were attached to the crown, and could either have ſeconded the guardian's good intention, or have overawed his infidelity, had attended the king into Ireland; and the efforts of Richard's friends were every where more feeble than thoſe of his enemies. The duke of York, however, appointed the rendezvous of his forces at St. Alban's, and ſoon aſſembled an army of 40,000 men; but found them entirely deſtitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cauſe, and more inclined to join the party of the rebels. He hearkened therefore very readily to a meſſage from Henry, who entreated him not to oppoſe a loyal aud humble ſupplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony; and the guardian even declared publicly that he would ſecond his nephew in ſo reaſonable a requeſt. His army embraced with acclamations the ſame meaſures; and the duke of Lancaſter, reinforced by them, was now entirely maſter of the kingdom. He haſtened to Briſtol, into which ſome of the king's miniſters had thrown themſelves, and ſoon obliging that place to ſurrender; he yielded to the popular wiſhes, and without giving them a trial, ordered the earl of Wiltſhire, ſir John Buſſey, and ſir Henry Green, whom he there took priſoners, to be led to immediate execution.

The king, receiving intelligence of this invaſion and inſurrection, haſtened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with a body of 20,000

men: but even this army, ſo much inferior to the enemy, was either overawed by the general combination of the kingdom, or ſeized with the ſame ſpirit of diſaffection; and they gradually deſerted him, till he found that he had not above 6000 men who followed his ſtandard. It appeared, therefore, neceſſary to retire ſecretly from this ſmall body, which ſerved only to expoſe him to danger; and he fled to the Iſle of Angleſea, where he purpoſed to embark either for Ireland or France, and there await the favourable opportunities which the return of his ſubjects to a ſenſe of duty, or their future diſcontents againſt the duke of Lancaſter, would probably afford him. Henry, ſenſible of the danger, ſent to him the earl of Northumberland with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion; and that nobleman, by treachery and falſe oaths, made himſelf maſter of the king's perſon, and carried him to his enemy at Flint Caſtle. Richard was conducted to London by the duke of Lancaſter, who was there received with the acclamations of the mutinous populace. It is pretended that the recorder met him on the road, and in the name of the city, entreated him, for the public ſafety, to put Richard to death, with all his adherents who were priſoners; but the duke prudently determined to make many others participate in his guilt, before he would proceed to thoſe extremities. For this purpoſe, he iſſued writs of election in the king's name, and appointed the immediate meeting of a parliament at Weſtminſter.

It is eaſy to imagine, that the houſe of commons, elected during this univerſal ferment and triumph of the Lancaſtrian party, would be extremely attached to that cauſe, and ready to record every ſuggeſtion of their leaders. The duke of Lancaſter, therefore, ſenſible that he ſhould be entirely maſter, began to carry his views to the crown itſelf. He firſt extorted a reſignation from Richard; but as he knew this deed would appear the reſult of force, he purpoſed, notwithſtanding the danger of the precedent to himſelf and

and his poſterity, to have him ſolemnly depoſed in parliament, for his pretended tyranny and miſconduct. A charge conſiſting of thirty-three articles was accordingly drawn up againſt him, and preſented to that aſſembly.

The chief amounts of the charge is contained in his violent conduct during the two laſt years of his reign. But the revenge which he took on the princes and barons, who had uſurped his authority, was ſanctioned by parliament. The detention of Lancaſter's eſtate, was approved by the ſame aſſembly, and was only a revocation of a grace which the king himſelf had formerly granted him; and the murder of Gloceſter was a private deed, formed not any precedent, and implied not any uſurped or arbitrary power of the crown, which could juſtly give umbrage to the crown.

Undoubtedly Richard had in many caſes exerciſed an arbitrary prerogative in levying purveyance, extorting loans, and granting protection from law-ſuits; but whether his irregular acts of this kind were more frequent than uſual, we are not able at this diſtance to determine. It is certain, ſo far from imitating the example of his grandfather, he is not accuſed of having impoſed one tax without the conſent of parliament.

Yet the charges againſt him ſeem to have been received in both houſes with univerſal approbation. One man alone, the biſhop of Carliſle, had the courage amidſt this general diſloyalty, to appear in defence of his unhappy maſter. His generous magnanimity, however honourable to himſelf, was of no ſervice to the unfortunate monarch; and his freedom, inſtead of being applauded, was not ſo much as tolerated; he was arreſted by the order of the duke of Lancaſter, and ſent priſoner to the abbey of St. Albans; no farther debate was attempted; the charges were voted againſt Richard; and voted unanimouſly by the ſame peers and prelates, who a little before had voluntarily authoriſed thoſe very acts of violence of which they

now complained. That prince was depoſed by the ſuffrages of both houſes; and the throne being now vacant, the duke of Lancaſter ſtepped forth, and having made the ſign of the croſs, pronounced theſe words, which we ſhall give in the original language:

In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I Henry of Lancaſter challenge this rewme of Ynglande, and the croun, with all the membres, and the appurtenances; als I that am deſcendit by right line of the blode coming fro the gude king Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace hath ſent me, with helpe of kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by default of governance, and ondoying of the gude laws.

In order to underſtand this ſpeech, it muſt be obſerved, that there was a ſilly ſtory received among ſome of the loweſt vulgar, that Edmond earl of Lancaſter, ſon of Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I. but that by reaſon of ſome deformity in his perſon, he had been poſtponed in the ſucceſſion, and his younger brother impoſed on the nation in his ſtead. As the preſent duke of Lancaſter inherited from his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy, and it is therefore inſinuated in Henry's ſpeech. But the abſurdity was too groſs to be openly avowed either by him or his parliament.

The earl of Northumberland made a motion in the houſe of peers with regard to the unhappy prince that they had depoſed; he aſked them what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him, ſince Henry was reſolved to ſpare his life. They unanimouſly replied, that he ſhould be impriſoned under a ſecure guard in ſome ſecret place, and ſhould be deprived of all commerce with his friends and partizans. It was eaſy to ſee that he would not long remain alive in the hands of his enemies; hiſtorians differ with regard to the manner in which he was murdered: it was long the prevailing opinion, that ſir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the caſtle of Pomfret, where he was confined, and diſ-

diſpatched him with their halberts. But it is more more probable that he was ſtarved to death in priſon; and after all ſuſtenance was denied him, he prolonged his unhappy life, it is ſaid, for a fortnight before he reached the end of his miſeries. This account is more conſiſtent with the ſtory, that his body was expoſed in public, and that no marks of violence were found upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. He left no poſterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

Richard appears to have been unfit for government; leſs for want of natural parts and capacity, than of ſolid judgment and a good education. He was violent in his temper; profuſe in his expence; fond of idle ſhow and grandeur; devoted to favourites; and addicted to pleaſure. He lived in a more magnificent manner than any who reigned before or after him; his houſhold conſiſted of 10,000 perſons; he had 300 in the kitchen; and all other offices were filled in proportion. It muſt be remarked, that this enormous train had tables ſupplied them at the king's coſt, according to the mode of that age; and this prodigality was probably one of the principal ſources of the public diſcontents.

During the reign of this prince there was a ſenſible decay of eccleſiaſtical authority. The eſtabliſhed church was attacked by John Wickliffe, a ſecular prieſt educated at Oxford, who ſeems to have been a man of parts and learning; and who has the honour of being the firſt perſon in Europe, that publickly called in queſtion thoſe principles which had univerſally paſſed for certain and undiſputed during ſo many ages. Wickliffe himſelf, as well as his diſciples who received the name of Wickliffites or Lollards, was diſtinguiſhed by a great auſterity of manners; his tenets, derived from his ſearch into the ſcriptures, were nearly the ſame with thoſe which were propagated by the Reformers in the ſixteenth century. He denied the doctrine of the real preſence, the ſupremacy of the church of Rome, and the merit of monaſtic vows;

the propagation of theſe principles gave great alarm to the clergy, and a bull was iſſued by Gregory II. for taking Wickliffe into cuſtody; he was cited before a ſynod at Lambeth; but beſides that there was hitherto no law by which the ſecular arm was authoriſed to ſupport orthodoxy, the reformer himſelf ſeems not to have been actuated by the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm; and in all examinations he ſo explained away his doctrine by tortured meanings, as to render it quite innocent and inoffenſive. Moſt of his followers imitated his cautious diſpoſition, and ſaved themſelves either by recantations or evaſions. He died of a palſy in the year 1385, and though the clergy took care to aſſure the people of his eternal damnation, his opinions ſtill gathered ſtrength in England, and were even tranſplanted to Bohemia; but the age, however, ſtrongly diſpoſed to receive them, was not ripe for this great revolution; and the finiſhing blow to eccleſiaſtical power was reſerved to a period of more curioſity, literature, and inclination for novelties.

Such was the religious ſtate of England when Henry IV. aſcended the throne; his attention to eſtabliſh himſelf in it left but little leiſure for theological enquiries, and inclined him to court the aſſiſtance of the church. He was conſcious that the Engliſh, long familiariſed to hereditary ſucceſſion, regarded with diſguſt any departure from it; and this induced him, inſtead of reſting his title on the choice of the people, to patch it up in the beſt manner he could from other pretenſions. Thus he left himſelf in the end no ground of right but his preſent poſſeſſion; a very precarious foundation, which, by its very nature, was liable to be overthrown by every faction of the great, or prejudice of the people. He had, indeed, an advantage over his competitor, the heir of the houſe of Mortimer, who had been declared in parliament heir to the crown, was a boy of ſeven years of age, and ignorant of his claim, was detained by Henry with his younger brother in an honourable cuſtody at Windſor caſtle. But he was ſenſible as that nobleman approached

proached to man's eſtate he would draw to him the attachment of the people, and that many favourable topics would occur in his behalf. He was a native of England, poſſeſſed an extenſive intereſt from the greatneſs and alliance of his family; and, however criminal the depoſed monarch muſt be, the innocence of this youth could not be impeached.

In his very firſt parliament, Henry had reaſon to ſee the danger attending that ſtation which he had aſſumed, and the obſtacles which he would meet with in governing an unruly ariſtocracy, always divided by faction, and at preſent inflamed with the reſentments conſequent on ſuch recent convulſions. The peers, on their aſſembling, broke out in ſuch violent animoſities againſt each other; forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown on the floor of the houſe by noblemen who gave mutual challenges; and *liar* and *traitor* reſounded from all quarters. The king had ſo much authority with theſe doughty champions, as to prevent all the combats which they threatened; but he was not able to bring them to a proper compoſure, or to an amicable diſpoſition towards each other.

It was not long before theſe paſſions broke into action. The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the reſpective titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter and Gloceſter, conferred on them by Richard, entered into a conſpiracy, together with the earl of Saliſbury, and lord Lumley, for raiſing an inſurrection, and for ſeizing the king's perſon at Windſor; but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the danger. He ſuddenly withdrew to London; and the conſpirators, who came to Windſor with a body of 500 horſe, found they had miſſed this blow, on which all the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe depended. Henry appeared next day at Kingſton upon Thames, at the head of 20,000 men, moſtly drawn from the city; and his enemies, unable to reſiſt his power, diſperſed themſelves, with a view of raiſing their followers in the ſe-

veral counties which were the ſeat of their intereſt. But the adherents of the king were hot in the purſuit, and every where oppoſed themſelves to their progreſs. The earls of Kent and Saliſbury were ſeized at Cirenceſter by the citizens; and were next day beheaded without farther ceremony, according to the cuſtom of the times. The citizens of Briſtol treated Spencer and Lumley in the ſame manner. The earl of Huntingdon, ſir Thomas Blount, and ſir Benedict Sely, who were alſo taken priſoners, ſuffered death, with many others of the conſpirators, by orders from Henry. And when the quarters of theſe unhappy men were brought to London, no leſs than eighteen biſhops and thirty-two mitred abbots joined the populace, and met them with the moſt indecent marks of joy and exultation.

But the ſpectacle the moſt ſhocking to every one who retained any ſentiment either of honour or humanity, ſtill remained. The earl of Rutland appeared, carrying on a pole the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, which he preſented in triumph to Henry as a teſtimony of his loyalty. This infamous man, who was ſoon after duke of York by the death of his father, and firſt prince of the blood, had been inſtrumental in the murder of his uncle the duke of Gloceſter; had then deſerted Richard, by whom he was truſted; had conſpired againſt the life of Henry, to whom he had ſworn allegiance; had betrayed his aſſociates, whom he had ſeduced into this enterpriſe; and now diſplayed, in the face of the world, theſe badges of his multiplied diſhonour.

It could not eſcape the ſagacity of Henry, that though the execution of theſe conſpirators might ſeem to give ſecurity to his throne, the animoſities which remain after ſuch bloody ſcenes, are always dangerous to regal authority. He therefore determined not to increaſe by any hazardous enterpriſe the numerous enemies with whom he was every where environed. While a ſubject, he was believed to have adopted the prejudices of the Lollards; but on the throne he readily

dily ſacrificed his principles to his intereſt; and to gratify the vengeance of the church on their opponents, he procured a law from the parliaments, which enacted, that when any heretic, who relapſed, or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the ſecular arm by the biſhops, he ſhould be committed to the flames by the civil magiſtrate before the whole people. This weapon did not long remain unemployed; and William Sautré, rector of St. Oſithes in London, having been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury, his ſentence was ratified by the houſe of peers, and the unhappy man atoned for his erroroneous opinion by fire.

But the utmoſt prudence could not ſhield Henry from thoſe inquietudes which aſſailed him from every quarter. The connexions of Richard with the royal family of France, made that court exert its activity to reſtore his authority, or revenge his death. But the diſorders which ſoon after broke out among the French, made Charles lay aſide his preparations, and renew the truce between the two kingdoms; nor would he even avail himſelf of the turbulent diſpoſition of the Gaſcons, who, affectionate to the memory of Richard, refuſed for a long time to ſwear allegiance to a prince who had dethroned and murdered him.

An inſurrection in Wales proved more embarraſſing to Henry; Owen Glendour, deſcended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; lord Grey, a nobleman connected with the new king, had ſeized his eſtate; but Glendour recovered poſſeſſion by force; the Welch armed on his ſide; a long and doubtful war was kindled; and as Glendour committed devaſtations on the eſtate of the earl of Marche, ſir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led out the retainers of the family againſt the Welch chieftain. His troops were routed, and the earl himſelf, who had been allowed by Henry to remove to his caſtle of Wigmore, though a mere boy, was made priſoner.

ſoner. As Henry dreaded all the family of Marche, he allowed the earl to remain in captivity, and even refuſed the Piercies, to whom he was related, to treat for his ranſom.

The doubtful ſituation of Henry had induced the Scots to make incurſions into England: to chaſtiſe them the king ſummoned his nobles, who appeared accompanied by their vaſſals. Henry conducted his followers without oppoſition to Edinburgh; but finding the Scots would neither ſubmit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, and diſbanded his army.

In the following year, Archibald earl of Douglas, at the head of 12,000 men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devaſtations on the northern counties. On his return home, he was overtaken by the Piercies at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle enſued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himſelf was taken priſoner, as was Mordac earl of Fife, ſon of the duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottiſh king, with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobility. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ranſom his priſoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war received in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland; but by this policy he gave a freſh diſguſt to the family of Piercy.

The obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the moſt likely to produce ingratitude on the one ſide, and diſcontent on the other. The ſovereign naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the ſubject was not eaſily ſatisfied in the returns which he thought ſo great a favour had merited. Though Henry, on his acceſſion, had beſtowed the office of conſtable on Northumberland for life, and con-

conferred other gifts on that family, theſe favours were regarded as their due; the refuſal of any other requeſt was deemed an injury. The impatient ſpirit of Harry Piercy, and the factious diſpoſition of the earl of Worceſter, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the diſcontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to ſeek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at firſt eſtabliſhed. He entered into a correſpondence with Glendour: he gave liberty to the earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief: he rouſed up all his partiſans to arms; and ſuch unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the ſame men, whom a few years before he had conducted againſt Richard, now followed his ſtandard in oppoſition to Henry. When war was ready to break out, Northumberland was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwic; and young Piercy taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces with thoſe of Glendour. The king had happily a ſmall army on foot, with which he had intended to act againſt the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he inſtantly hurried down, that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Piercy near Shrewſbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them haſten to a general engagement.

The evening before the battle, Piercy ſent a manifeſto to Henry, in which he upbraided him with his guilt in dethroning and murdering Richard; with his cruel policy in allowing the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to regard as his ſovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies; and he charged him with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having ſworn he would not without the utmoſt neceſſity levy any impoſitions on them. This manifeſto was well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties; the bravery of the two leaders promiſed an obſtinate engagement; and the equality

of

of the armies, being each about twelve thouſand men, rendered the iſſue of the conflict moſt uncertain.

We ſhall ſcarcely find any battle in thoſe ages where the ſhock was more terrible and more conſtant. Henry expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight: his gallant ſon, whoſe military atchievements were afterwards ſo renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, ſignalized himſelf on his father's footſteps, and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Piercy ſupported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat: and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival, amidſt the horror and confuſion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almoſt incredible: he ſeemed determined that the king of England ſhould that day fall by his arm: he ſought him all over the field of battle: and as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his perſon, or to encourage his own men by the belief of his preſence every where, had accoutered ſeveral captains in the royal garb, the ſword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royaliſts prevailed. There are ſaid to have fallen that day, on both ſides, near two thouſand three hundred gentlemen; but the perſons of greateſt diſtinction were on the king's; the earl of Stafford, ſir Hugh Shirley, ſir Nicholas Gauſel, ſir Hugh Mortimer, ſir John Maſſey, ſir John Calverly. About ſix thouſand private men periſhed, of whom two thirds were of Piercy's army. The earls of Worceſter and Douglas were taken priſoners: the former was beheaded at Shrewſbury; the latter was treated with the courteſy due to his rank and merit.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his ſickneſs, levied a freſh army, and was on his march to join his ſon; but being oppoſed by the earl of Weſtmoreland, and hearing of the defeat

at

at Shrewſbury, he diſmiſſed his forces, and came with a ſmall retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his ſole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties: Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence: all the other rebels were treated with equal lenity: and, except the earl of Worceſter and ſir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the inſurrection, no perſon engaged in this dangerous enterpriſe ſeems to have periſhed by the hands of the executioner.

The earl of Northumberland, though he had been pardoned, knew that he ſhould never be truſted: he formed a new confederacy in conjunction with the earl of Nottingham, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Wiltſhire, whom Henry, when duke of Lancaſter, had beheaded at Briſtol. But the earl of Nottingham, and the archbiſhop, ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by the earl of Weſtmoreland, who lay near them with a ſmall body of royaliſts. He promiſed them the redreſs of their grievances; and obſerved, now amity was reſtored, it would be better on both ſides to diſmiſs their armies. The archbiſhop and the earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions to that purpoſe: their troops diſbanded upon the field: but Weſtmoreland, who had ſecretly iſſued contrary orders to *his* army, ſeized the two rebels without reſiſtance, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with haſty marches to ſuppreſs the inſurrection. The trial and puniſhment of an archbiſhop might have proved a troubleſome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry proceeded regularly, and allowed time for an oppoſition to form itſelf againſt that unuſual meaſure: the celerity of the execution alone could here render it ſafe and prudent. Finding that ſir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, made ſome ſcruple of acting on this occaſion, he appointed ſir William Fulthorpe for judge; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced ſentence of death upon the

the prelate, which was preſently executed. This was the firſt inſtance in England of a capital puniſhment inflicted on a biſhop; whence the clergy of that rank might learn that their crimes, more than thoſe of laics, were not to paſs with impunity. The earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the ſame ſummary manner: but though many other perſons of condition, ſuch as lord Falconberg, ſir Ralph Haſtings, ſir John Colville, were engaged in this rebellion, no others ſeem to have fallen victims to Henry's ſeverity.

The earl of Northumberland, on receiving this intelligence, fled into Scotland, together with lord Bardolf, and the king, without oppoſition, reduced all the caſtles and fortreſſes belonging to theſe noblemen. He thence turned his arms againſt Glendour, over whom his ſon, the prince of Wales, had obtained ſome advantages: but that enemy, more troubleſome than dangerous, ſtill found means of defending himſelf in his faſtneſſes, and of eluding, though not reſiſting, all the force of England. In a ſubſequent ſeaſon, the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf, impatient of their exile, entered the north, in hopes of raiſing the people to arms; but found the country in ſuch a poſture as rendered all their attempts unſucceſsful. Sir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, levied ſome forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham, and gained a victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were ſlain. This proſperous event, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened ſoon after, freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies; and this prince, who had mounted the throne by ſuch unjuſtifiable means, and held it by ſuch an exceptionable title, had yet, by his valour, prudence, and addreſs, accuſtomed the people to the yoke, and had obtained a greater aſcendant over his haughty barons than the law alone, not ſupported by theſe active qualities, was ever able to confer.

About the ſame time, another accident was peculiarly favourable to Henry; Robert III. king of the Scots,

Scots, was a prince of ſlender capacity; his brother, duke Albany, a prince of more abilities but leſs intrepidity, had aſſumed the government of the ſtate. Ambitious of the crown, he had already laid violent hands on David, the eldeſt ſon of the king; and to ſave the life of James the Younger, the father embarked him for France. The veſſel was taken by the Engliſh; and Henry, though there ſubſiſted a truce between the kingdom, refuſed to reſtore the prince: the ſhock was too much for the feeble conſtitution of Robert; he died; and the duke of Albany continued to govern the kingdom, but was held in dependence by Henry, who had it in his power to reſtore the true heir, whenever the adminiſtration of the uſurper ſhould prove offenſive.

The diſtractions which raged through France from the enmity of the rival houſes of Burgundy and Orleans, delivered Henry from all uneaſineſs from that quarter; but his declining health prevented him from availing himſelf of theſe diſſentions; and it was the internal government of his kingdom that occupied his attention. As he was obliged to court popularity, his delicate ſituation had afforded the commons an opportunity to aſſume new powers; they procured a law, that no judge in concurring with any iniquitous meaſure, ſhould be excuſed by pleading the orders of the king; they inſiſted on maintaining the pretence of not granting ſupplies before they received an anſwer to their petitions; and when they voted ſupplies, they appointed treaſurers of their own, to ſee the money diſburſed for the purpoſes intended. But this authority was but a temporary advantage, and when the king had overcome his difficulties, he plainly told them that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogatives.

With a deſign to weaken the pretenſions of the earl of Marche, Henry had procured a ſettlement of the crown on himſelf and his *heirs-male*; but the long conteſts with France had diſplayed the injuſtice of the Salic laws; and the parliament, apprehenſive that they

had overturned the foundation of the Engliſh government, applied with ſuch earneſtneſs for a new ſettlement, that Henry yielded to their requeſt; and agreed to the ſucceſſion of the princeſſes of his family.

Though the commons ſhewed a laudable zeal for liberty in theſe tranſactions, their efforts againſt the church were ſtill more extraordinary. In the ſixth of Henry, being required to grant ſupplies, they propoſed in plain terms to the king that he ſhould ſeize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to ſerve the exigencies of the ſtate. They inſiſted, that the clergy poſſeſſed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burdens; and that their riches tended only to diſqualify them from performing their miniſterial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this addreſs was preſented, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy, though they went not in perſon to the wars, ſent their vaſſals and tenants in all caſes of neceſſity; while, at the ſame time, they themſelves who ſtaid at home, were employed night and day in offering up their prayers for the happineſs and proſperity of the ſtate. The ſpeaker ſmiled, and anſwered without reſerve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very ſlender ſupply. The archbiſhop, however, prevailed in the diſpute: the king diſcouraged the application of the commons: and the lords rejected the bill which the lower houſe had framed for ſtripping the church of her revenues.

The commons were not diſcouraged by this repulſe: in the eleventh of the king they returned to the charge with more zeal than before: they made a calculation of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to 485,000 marks a year, and contained 18,400 ploughs of land. They propoſed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, 1500 knights, 6000 eſquires, and a hundred hoſpitals; beſides 20,000 pounds a year, which the king might take for his own uſe: and they inſiſted, that the clerical

rical functions would be better performed than at preſent, by 15000 pariſh prieſts, paid at the rate of ſeven marks a piece of yearly ſtipend. This application was accompanied with an addreſs for mitigating the ſtatutes enacted againſt the Lollards, which ſhows from what ſource the addreſs came. The king gave the commons a ſevere reply; and farther to ſatisfy the church, and to prove that he was quite in earneſt, he ordered a Lollard to be burned before the diſſolution of the parliament.

We have now related almoſt all the memorable tranſactions of this reign, which was buſy and active; but produced few events that deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity. The king was ſo much employed in defending his crown that he had little leiſure to look abroad. His health declined ſome months before his death, and though he was in the flower of his age, his end was viſibly approaching. He expired at Weſtminſter, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign; leaving four ſons, Henry his ſucceſſor, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloceſter; and two daughters, Blanche married to the duke of Bavaria, and Philippa to the king of Denmark.

Though the means by which Henry aſcended to power may be arraigned, his prudence and vigilance in maintaining it muſt be acknowledged. His command of temper was remarkable; his courage, both military and political, was without blemiſh; and he poſſeſſed many qualities which fitted him for ſo high a ſtation, and which rendered his uſurpation of it, though pernicious in aftertimes, rather ſalutary during his own reign, to the Engliſh nation.

It appears that the expence of this king's houſhold amounted to the yearly ſum of 19,500l. money of that age.

The jealouſies natural to the ſituation of Henry had ſo infected him, that he even regarded with diſtruſt his eldeſt ſon, and had carefully excluded him from public buſineſs. The active ſpirit of young Henry, re-

ſtrained from its proper exerciſe, broke out into extravagancies of every kind. He indulged in pleaſure, and in riot; and aſſociated with companions unworthy of his rank and ſtation. There remains a tradition, that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he ſcrupled not to attack and plunder the paſſengers in the ſtreets and high-ways. This extreme diſſoluteneſs was not leſs diſagreeable to his father, than would have been his application to buſineſs; and Henry, in his ſon's behaviour, dreaded the ſame neglect of decency that had proved ſo fatal to Richard. But the nation was leſs ſevere in the judgment on the young prince: they obſerved in him the ſeeds of generoſity, ſpirit, and magnanimity; and there happened an incident which gave occaſion for favourable reflections to all men of ſenſe and candour. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, for ſome diſorders; and Henry was not aſhamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his preſence had not overawed the chief juſtice, he proceeded to inſult that magiſtrate on his tribunal; but Gaſcoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majeſty of the ſovereign and of the laws, which he ſuſtained, ordered the prince to be carried to priſon for his rude behaviour. The ſpectators were agreeably diſappointed when they ſaw the heir of the crown ſubmit peaceably to this ſentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midſt of its extravagant career.

The memory of this incident, and of many others of a like nature, rendered the proſpect of the future reign nowiſe diſagreeable to the nation, and increaſed the joy which the death of ſo unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occaſioned. The firſt ſteps taken by the young prince confirmed all thoſe prepoſſeſſions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example,

ample, but ſtrictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their ſincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his preſence; and he thus diſmiſſed them with liberal preſents. The wiſe miniſters of his father, who had checked his riots, found that they had unknowingly been paying the higheſt court to him; and were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. The chief juſtice himſelf, who trembled to approach the royal preſence, met with praiſes inſtead of reproaches for his paſt conduct, and was exhorted to perſevere in the ſame rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The ſurpriſe of thoſe who expected an oppoſite behaviour, augmented their ſatisfaction; and the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been ſhaded by any errors.

But Henry was anxious not only to repair his miſconduct, but to make amends for the injuries into which policy had betrayed his father. He expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for the fate of Richard, performed his funeral obſequies with pomp and ſolemnity, and cheriſhed all thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their attachment towards him. He received the earl of Marche, with ſingular courteſy and favour; he reſtored the family of Piercy to its fortune and honours; and anxious to bury all party-diſtinctions, he regarded merit alone in his promotions.

One deſcription only of people were deſtined to feel his rigour. The Lollards were rapidly increaſing; they appeared dangerous to the church, and were formidable to the civil authority. The head of this ſect was ſir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had acquired the eſteem both of the late and preſent king. His high character pointed him out to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity; he applied to Henry for a permiſſion to indict him; that prince, averſe to ſanguinary methods, endeavoured by a converſation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the catholic faith. He however found him firm in his opinions; and the king's

principles of toleration could carry him no farther; he abandoned him to the reſentment of the church; and Cobham was indicted by the primate and his ſuffragans, and was condemned to the flames for his erroneous tenets. He eſcaped from the Tower, and his daring ſpirit, provoked by perſecution and ſtimulated by zeal, prompted him to the moſt criminal enterpriſes. He appointed a general rendezvous of his party, in order to ſeize the perſon of the king, and to put their religious enemies to the ſword; but the deſign was betrayed to Henry: and his vigilance intercepted the different bodies of the conſpirators. It appeared a few only were in the ſecret: of theſe ſome were executed; Cobham himſelf had fled, and was not brought to juſtice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body was burnt on the gibbet: and his criminal deſign ſerved to diſcredit the ſect, and to check the progreſs of the doctrines of Wickliffe.

Though the nation was not yet ripe for the abſtruſe doctrine of Wickliffe, a reformation in diſcipline was generally deſired: even the parliament that was ſummoned immediately after the detection of Cobham's conſpiracy, though they paſſed ſeveral laws againſt hereſy, entreated the king to ſeize all the eccleſiaſtical revenues, and convert them to the uſe of the crown; and it was to divert this blow, that Chichely, archbiſhop of Canterbury, endeavoured to perſuade Henry to undertake a war againſt France, in order to recover his loſt rights to that kingdom.

It had been the dying injunction of the late king to his ſon, not to allow the Engliſh to remain long in peace, but to find occupation for their reſtleſs ſpirits in foreign expeditions. The warlike nature of Henry diſpoſed him to follow this advice, and the civil diſorders of France opened a full career to his ambition.

Charles the Sixth, king of France, had in the adminiſtration of that country diſcovered early ſymptoms of genius and ſpirit; but the unhappy prince was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit of inſanity, and though he recovered from this diſorder, he was ſo ſubject to relapſes,

lapſes, that his judgment was gradually but ſenſibly impaired; the adminiſtration of affairs was diſputed between his brother, Lewis duke of Orleans, and his couſin-german, John duke of Burgundy: the propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the former; the latter, who, in right of his mother, had inherited the county of Flanders, which he annexed to his father's extenſive dominions, derived a luſtre from his ſuperior power: the people were divided between theſe contending princes: and the king, now reſuming, now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular ſettlement of the ſtate by the final prevalence of either party.

At length, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, ſeeming to be moved by the cries of the nation and by the interpoſition of common friends, agreed to bury all paſt quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into ſtrict amity: they ſwore before the altar the ſincerity of their friendſhip; the prieſt adminiſtered the ſacrament to both of them; they gave to each other every pledge which could be deemed ſacred among men: but all this ſolemn preparation was only a cover for the baſeſt treachery, which was deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He procured his rival to be aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Paris: he endeavoured for ſome time to conceal the part which he took in the crime; but being detected, he embraced a reſolution ſtill more criminal and more dangerous to ſociety, by openly avowing and juſtifying it.

The princes of the blood combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, ſeized ſometimes by one party, ſometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waſte by mutual depredations: and the whole kingdom was diſtinguiſhed into two factions, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; ſo the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince.

The advantage which might be made of theſe condeſcenſions was eaſily perceived in England; but Henry, before he had recourſe to arms, endeavoured to obtain his ends by negociation. He ſent over ambaſſadors to Paris offering a perpetual peace and alliance; but demanding Catherine, the French king's daughter, in marriage, two millions of crowns as her portion, one million ſix hundred thouſand as the arrears of king John's ranſom, and the immediate poſſeſſion and full ſovereignty of Normandy, and of all other provinces which had been raviſhed from England by the arms of Philip Auguſtus; together with the ſuperiority of Britanny and Flanders. Such exorbitant demands ſhow that he was ſenſible of the preſent miſerable condition of France; and the terms offered by the French court, though much inferior, diſcover their conſciouſneſs of the ſame melancholy truth. They were willing to give him the princeſs in marriage, to pay him eight hundred thouſand crowns, to reſign the entire ſovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the countries of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories. Henry rejected theſe conditions, and having aſſembled a great fleet and army, at Southampton, he came to the ſea-ſide with the purpoſe of embarking on his expedition.

But while he was meditating conqueſts upon his neighbours, he unexpectedly found himſelf in danger from a conſpiracy at home. The earl of Cambridge, ſecond ſon to the duke of York, had eſpouſed the ſiſter of the earl of Marche, had zealouſly embraced the intereſt of that family; and had ſome conferences with lord Scrope and ſir Thomas Grey, about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England. Theſe deſigns were betrayed, they acknowledged their guilt to the king, and Henry proceeded without delay to their trial and condemnation; they were pronounced guilty, and were executed; but the earl of Marche, who was accuſed of having given his approbation to the conſpiracy, obtained a par-

a pardon, either from his innocence, or the diſcovery of the project.

Having cruſhed this domeſtic danger, Henry prepared for the invaſion of France; relying on the aid of the duke of Burgundy, who had recently ſolicited his alliance, he put to ſea with 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 foot, landed at Harfleur, and obliged that city, after a reſolute defence, to capitulate.

But the gallantry of the governor and garriſon of Harfleur, allowed France to collect her forces; an army of 14,000 men at arms, and 40,000 foot, was aſſembled in Normandy, under the conſtable d'Albert; while the fatigues of the ſiege, and the uncommon heat of the ſeaſon, had waſted the number of the Engliſh to one half of their original force. Henry had already diſmiſſed his tranſports, which would have been endangered on an open coaſt; and, ſenſible of the difficulties which muſt have attended his march to Calais, he offered to purchaſe a ſafe retreat at the expence of his new conqueſt of Harfleur. But the army of the conſtable was already joined by the dauphin, and the princes of the blood; impatient to ſignalize themſelves, and efface the diſgrace of Crecy and Poictiers, they rejected the propoſal; and the king of England found he muſt place his ſole reliance on his own conduct and valour. He ſlowly pointed his march towards the river Somme, which he hoped to paſs at the ſame ford as had proved ſo auſpicious to his predeceſſor Edward. In this he was diſappointed by the precautions of the French; and as he advanced along the banks of the river, his proviſions hourly diminiſhed, and his difficulties increaſed; at length he ſurpriſed a paſſage near St. Quentin; but he had ſcarcely reached the oppoſite ſide, before the French, who preſſed upon his footſteps, traverſed the Somme alſo, and poſted themſelves between the Engliſh army and Calais.

The experience of former defeats, it might naturally have been expected, would have checked the impetuoſity of the French, and would have taught

them to have extinguiſhed their adverſary, without truſting to the uncertain event of a field of battle: but in an age, when the art of war was little underſtood, and when all glory conſiſted in perſonal proweſs, it was difficult to reſtrain the ſwelling ſpirits of a martial nobility, who conſidered the preſence of their enemy as an inſult. The dauphin and the duke of Berri had abſented themſelves to attend the king, who was oppreſſed by a return of his indiſpoſition; and the command was entruſted to the conſtable d'Albert, who, in his determination to fight, and in the diſpoſition which he made, ſhewed himſelf equally unworthy of the confidence repoſed in him. The plains of Azincourt have been rendered immortal by this celebrated action. Henry no ſooner found his retreat intercepted by the appearance of the enemy, than he drew up his army on a narrow ground, between two woods, which guarded each flank; and patiently awaited the charge of his foes, whoſe numbers four times exceeded his own. In the battle of Azincourt we review that of Poictiers; the French charged with the ſame contempt of danger and diſcipline; the Engliſh received them with the ſame cool and deliberate intrepidity. The former were led on by a generous nobility, and encouraged by their ſuperior numbers; the latter were animated by the preſence of their king, and the memory of ancient glory; the event was ſuch as might be expected, the French were diſordered by their own impetuoſity, and their numbers ſerved only to increaſe their confuſion and diſgrace. Their cavalry were entangled in the heavy ground on which they engaged, and, incapable of flight or reſiſtance, were ſlaughtered by the battle-axes of the Engliſh. The conſtable himſelf, the count de Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, both brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the dukes of Alençon and Barre, the counts of Vaudemont and Marle, ſcorning to ſurvive this national calamity, ruſhed into the midſt of the tumult, and periſhed with above ten thouſand of their followers. The dukes of Orleans

and

and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, the mareſchal of Bouccicaut, and above fourteen thouſand of inferior rank, were taken priſoners: while on the ſide of the Engliſh, the duke of York was the only perſon of conſequence who fell; and their whole loſs did not exceed forty men.

Henry immediately purſued his triumphant march to Calais; but the ſmall number of his troops did not allow him to improve his advantages; and his want of money induced him ſoon after to conclude a truce, for two years, with the enemy.

This interval from foreign war ſeemed only to augment the diſſenſions and miſeries of the French. The ſword of conſtable had been beſtowed, after the defeat of Azincourt, on the count of Armagnac; whoſe enterprizing meaſures compelled the duke of Burgundy to relinquiſh the adminiſtration that he had uſurped, and drove him from court, to ſeek refuge in his own territories. From thence he was ſoon invited by new diſſenſions in the royal family. The queen had amaſſed, by years of ſucceſſive rapacity, an immenſe treaſure; the dauphin was perſuaded not only to ſeize it for the public uſe, but at the ſame time to excite an act of exemplary vengeance on one of her minions who had diſhonoured his father's bed. The queen herſelf was ſent to Tours, and ſtrictly confined. But the ſpirit of Iſabella could ill brook theſe reiterated inſults: and ſhe no longer ſcrupled to enter into a correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her ſon, the dauphin, was attached to the houſe of Orleans ſhe ſoon extended her reſentment to him. Delivered from her confinement by the arms of the duke of Burgundy, ſhe is ſuppoſed to have received that prince with the ſame criminal complaiſance as ſhe had before ſhewn to the duke of Orleans whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated. She aſſumed the title and authority of regent, to which ſhe had been nominated by a former edict of the king. She fixed the ſeat of her independent reſidence at Troyes; ſanctioned by her name the enterprizes of her new ally againſt the mini-

miniſters of her ſon, who, ſhe aſſerted, detained her royal conſort in captivity.

A. D. 1418. 1419. Henry the Fifth had landed again in Normandy, and reduced that fertile province to his obedience. Liſle Adam, one of the captains of the duke of Burgundy, ſuddenly preſented himſelf before the gates of Paris; was admitted into the city by the partiality or treachery of a burgher, and headed an inſurrection of the people, in which the perſon of the king was ſeized, and the count of Armagnac, the chancellor, and the principal adherents of the Orleans party, were inhumanly maſſacred. The dauphin himſelf eſcaped with difficulty, through the vigilance and addreſs of Tannigue de Chaſtle; and rejecting the ſolicitations of his mother to return to Paris, ſecured himſelf within the walls of Poictiers.

The king of England, with an army ſuperior to open reſiſtance, had already ſhaken the walls of Rouen. To the cardinal des Urſins, who intreated him to think of peace, and to moderate his pretenſions: "Do not you ſee," he replied, "that God has led me hither as "by the hand; every thing here is in the utmoſt con-"fuſion; no one thinks of reſiſting me. Can I have "a more ſenſible proof that the Being who diſpoſes of "empires has determined to place the crown of "France upon my head?" Yet Henry was ſenſible what obſtacles ſtill remained for him to ſurmount; he had already experienced the difficulties of procuring ſupplies from the Engliſh parliament, and his coffers were exhauſted by a ſucceſſion of victories. However flattering the proſpect might be to his ambition, his policy induced him gradually to leſſen his demands; and he fixed, as the price of peace, his marriage with the princeſs Catharine, and all the provinces ceded to Edward the Third by the treaty of Bretigny, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and intire ſovereignty. Iſabella, deſtitute of every feeling as a queen and a mother, and inſatiate of revenge againſt her perſonal enemies, inſtantly cloſed with the terms propoſed, and even conducted her daugh-

daughter to Troyes, in Champagne, where the nuptials with Henry were to be ſolemnized. But the duke of Burgundy ſtill heſitated; whether a ſpark of patriotiſm ſtill glowed within his boſom, and ſuffered him not to ſubſcribe a treaty ſo pernicious to his country: whether he dreaded the riſing genius of Henry, and foreſaw his own ruin in the aggrandizement of the Engliſh monarch, he ſeized the interval, preſſed his negociations with the dauphin, and conſented to an accommodation to reſcue his country from deſtruction.

Whatever were the views of the duke of Burgundy, the conduct of the dauphin has for ever ſtained his memory with the blackeſt treachery. An interview was appointed between the two princes at the bridge of Montereau-ſur-Youne: but the former was ſtill conſcious of his dark and bloody crime in the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans; he dreaded the vengeance due to his guilt, and ſtudiouſly procraſtinated the fatal hour of conference. Every precaution was taken to remove his fears: lofty rails were erected acroſs the bridge; and it was agreed that only ten perſons on each ſide ſhould be admitted into the vacant ſpace; even to the laſt moment his reluctance was extreme; but he had now advanced too far to retreat. He entered the fatal gate, and threw himſelf at the feet of the dauphin; at that inſtant, Tannegui de Chaſtel, with ſeveral others of the dauphin's party, and who had been attached to the late duke of Orleans, ſprung over the barrier. The firſt blow was given by Chaſtel; and the duke of Burgundy immediately fell, pierced with an hundred wounds. His friends, aſtoniſhed, and incapable of reſiſtance, were either taken priſoners, or involved in his fate. A. D. 1419.

The youth of the dauphin had made it doubtful whether he was admitted into the ſecret; but the deed was committed under his eye; and in his more mature years he diſtinguiſhed by marks of affection and confidence the perpetrators of the flagitious action. The bands of civil ſociety were looſened by the royal exami-

example; and the flames of war, which might have been extinguiſhed, or their fury at leaſt aſſuaged, broke forth with increaſe of violence. Iſabella, loud in her complaints, and impatient for vengeance, inſtantly beſtowed the hand of Catherine on Henry, and celebrated their nuptials at Troyes. Philip, the ſon of the duke of Burgundy, and who ſucceeded to the honours and dominions of his father, joined the Engliſh ſtandard, and only ſtipulated the marriage of his ſiſter with the duke of Bedford, the brother of Henry, and the proſcription of his father's aſſaſſins. The city of Paris, long partial to the houſe of Burgundy, roſe in arms, and filled every ſtreet with ſcenes of bloody tumult; while the unhappy Charles the Sixth, ſunk into imbecility, and delivered into the hands of the natural enemy of his country, ſanctioned by his name the unbounded ambition of Henry, and the implacable paſſions of Iſabella.

In the new treaty concluded in the names of the kings of France and England, and the duke of Burgundy, it was agreed, that Charles, during his life, ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry ſhould be declared heir, and immediately entruſted with the reins of government, and that that kingdom ſhould paſs to his heirs general; that France and England ſhould be for ever united under one king, but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, cuſtoms, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, that they would both adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, aad pay him preſent obedience as regent; that this prince ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of king Charles, and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that theſe three princes ſhould make no peace or truce with him but by common conſent or agreement.

To puſh his preſent advantages, Henry a few days after he eſpouſed the princeſs Catharine, carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that capital; he turned his arms againſt the dauphin, who,

who, on the intelligence of the treaty of Troyes, had aſſumed the title of regent, was received into Sens and Montereau, and, after long reſiſtance, reduced Melun: he returned to England only to procure ſupplies to carry on his operations with freſh vigour; yet great as his ſucceſſes had been, the Engliſh ſeem not to have been dazzled by them; and a ſubſidy of a fifteenth, was all that could be obtained from the parliament; with this and his perſonal influence, he levied a new army of 24,000 archers, and 4,000 horſemen, and his departure was quickened by the intelligence of a defeat to which his troops had been expoſed in Anjou.

The detention of the young king of Scots in England had hitherto proved advantageous to Henry; and, by keeping the regent in awe, had preſerved, during the whole courſe of the French war, the northern frontier in tranquillity. But when intelligence arrived in Scotland of the progreſs made by Henry, and the near proſpect of his ſucceſſion to the crown of France, the nation was alarmed, and foreſaw their own inevitable ruin, if the ſubjection of their ally left them to combat alone a victorious enemy, who was already ſo much ſuperior in power and riches. The regent entered into the ſame views; and though he declined an open rupture with England, he permitted a body of ſeven thouſand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, his ſecond ſon, to be tranſported into France for the ſervice of the dauphin. To render this aid ineffectual, Henry had, in his former expedition, carried over the king of Scots whom he obliged to ſend orders to his countrymen, to leave the French ſervice; but the Scottiſh general replied, that he would obey no command which came from a king in captivity, and that a prince, while in the hands of his enemy, was no wiſe intitled to authority. Theſe troops, therefore, continued ſtill to act under the earl of Buchan; and were employed by the dauphin to oppoſe the progreſs of the duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies encountered at Baugé: the Engliſh were defeated; the duke himſelf was ſlain by ſir Allan Swinton,

Swinton, a Scotch knight, who commanded a company of men at arms; and the earls of Somerſet, Dorſet, and Huntingdon, were taken priſoners. This was the firſt action that turned the tide of ſucceſs againſt the Engliſh; and the dauphin, that he might both attach the Scotch to his ſervice, and reward the valour and conduct of the earl of Buchan, honoured that nobleman with the office of conſtable.

But the arrival of the king of England with ſo conſiderable an army was more than ſufficient to repair this loſs; he was received at Paris with the acclamations of the citizens, and he immediately led his army to the relief of Chartres, which was beſieged by the dauphin. That prince was compelled to retire before the ſuperior numbers of his rival, who purſued him as far as Orleans. On his return he received the ſubmiſſion of Dreux; and at the requeſt of the Pariſians beſieged Meaux: it was obſtinately defended by the baſtard of Varus, as renowned for his bravery as he was deteſted for his inhumanity. He had ignominiouſly executed all the Engliſh and adherents of the duke of Burgundy who fell into his hands. His deſpair protracted his fate for eight months: at length Meaux ſurrendered; and Henry immediately commanded the governor to be ſuſpended from a neighbouring tree, the inſtrument of his former barbarities.

At Paris, a ſolemn proceſs was inſtituted againſt the dauphin for the murder of the duke of Burgundy: he was ſummoned to appear before a tribunal of his enemies; his abſence was conſtrued into a proof of his guilt; and he was pronounced incapable of ſucceeding to the crown.

This ſentence was ſoon after followed by the intelligence that queen Catherine was delivered of a ſon at at Windſor; the event was celebrated by equal rejoicing at Paris and at London; the royal infant, who was baptized by the name of his father, Henry, was conſidered as the ſucceſſor to both kingdoms, and ſeemed to extinguiſh even the hopes of the dauphin.

That

That prince, chaſed beyond the Loire, deſerted entirely by the northern provinces, deſtitute of treaſures and troops to oppoſe his proſperous competitor, prepared to meet with fortitude the deſtruction which it ſeemed impoſſible to avoid; when he was preſerved by one of thoſe fortunate incidents which ſo often baffle the plans of the moſt profound policy, and decide the fate of empires.

Henry had determined to open the enſuing campaign with the invaſion of Picardy, A. D. 1422. and appeared in the field early in the month of July. The united forces of the Engliſh and Burgundians threatened to overwhelm all oppoſition: but while he halted at Senlis, to allow the earl of Warwick time to ſcour the adjacent country, he was recalled to Paris by the intelligence that the fickle citizens wavered in their allegiance, and had already entered into a correſpondence with the dauphin, to betray the capital into his power. The unexpected appearance of Henry confounded their intrigues, and commanded their obedience. The king of England immediately returned to Senlis, to preſs the operations of war; where, amidſt the pride of victory, and the proſpect of dominion, he was attacked by a complaint, which the ignorance of the age rendered mortal. A fiſtula with which he was ſeized, ſoon terminated in a mortification; and Henry, ſenſible of his approaching end, devoted, with manly firmneſs, the few remaining moments of life to the concerns of his kingdom and his family, and to the pious duties of religion.

To the duke of Bedford, his elder brother, he left the regency of France; that of England he committed to the duke of Glouceſter, his younger brother; and to the earl of Warwick, he entruſted the important care of his ſon's perſon and education. He intreated theſe noblemen to continue to his infant offſpring the fidelity and attachment which he himſelf had always experienced from them; he expreſſed his confidence, that the final acquiſition of France would be

the effect of their prudence and valour; he recommended to them to maintain the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy; never to give liberty to the French priſoners taken at Azincourt, till his ſon was of age, and could hold the reins of government himſelf: and he conjured them, if the ſucceſs of their arms ſhould not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never to make peace with that kingdom, unleſs Charles of Valois, for ſo he termed the dauphin, ſhould conſent at leaſt to annex Normandy to the crown of England, as ſome compenſation for the enterpriſes he had engaged in, and for the pretenſions which they would relinquiſh.

After having thus delivered his advice to the nobles whom he honoured with his friendſhip, the dying monarch aſſiduouſly applied himſelf to his devotions, and declared his ſerious intention, when he had completely ſubdued France, to have marched againſt the infidels, and attempted the recovery of the Holy Land. Even the mind of Henry, ſtrong and penetrating as it was, had not eſcaped the prejudices of a martial and and ſuperſtitious age; and he hoped to atone for the crimes of his father, and the bloody conſequences of his own ambition, by again deluging Paleſtine with the blood of unbelievers: conſoled by this pious reſolution, with the calmeſt tranquillity, he expired in the tenth of his reign, and the thirty-fourth year of his age.

As the ſucceſsful invader, and the nominal regent of France, the character of Henry commands our attention; his abilities were equally diſtinguiſhed in the field and the cabinet; and while we admire the boldneſs of his enterpriſes, we cannot refuſe our praiſe to the ſkilful manner in which they were conducted. His affability attached his friends to his ſervice; his addreſs and clemency vanquiſhed his enemies. The unceaſing attention which he paid to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſevere diſcipline which he preſerved in his armies, alleviated the calamities of the inceſſant hoſtilities by which France and England were agitated

agitated during his ſhort and ſplendid reign. He received into favour the earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown of England than himſelf; and that nobleman ſafely confided in the friendſhip of a monarch, above the low jealouſies which ſo frequently reſide in royal boſoms. One frailty only ſeems to have alloyed the purity of his character; but it was the blemiſh of a great and noble mind; the love of arms and military glory.

The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His ſtature was ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and ſlender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exerciſes. He left, by his queen, Catherine of France, only one ſon, not full nine months old; whoſe misfortunes, in the courſe of his life, ſurpaſſed all the glories and ſucceſſes of his father.

In leſs than two months after Henry's death, Charles VI. of France, his father-in-law, terminated his unhappy life. He had, for ſeveral years, poſſeſſed only the appearance of royal authority: yet was this mere appearance of conſiderable advantage to the Engliſh; and divided the duty and affections of the French between them and the dauphin. This prince was proclaimed and crowned king of France at Poictiers, by the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the place where this ceremony is uſually performed, was at that time in the hands of his enemies.

Catherine of France, Henry's widow, married, ſoon after his death, a Welch gentleman, ſir Owen Tudor, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of that country: ſhe bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper, of which the eldeſt was created earl of Richmond; the ſecond earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

The firſt commiſſion of array which we meet with, was iſſued in this reign: the military part of the feudal ſyſtem was entirely diſſolved, and Henry, when

he went to France, empowered certain commiſſioners to take in each county a review of the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readineſs for reſiſting the enemy.

The ordinary revenue of the crown at this time, conſiſted only of 55,714 l. 10s. 10d. which is nearly the ſame with the revenue of Henry III; the ordinary expences of the government amounted to 42,507 l. 16s. 10d. ſo that the king had a ſurplus only of 13,206 l. 14s. for the ſupport of his houſehold; for his wardrobe; the expence of ambaſſadors; and other articles.

All the extraordinary ſupplies granted by parliament were only ſeven-tenths, and fifteenths, about 203,000 l. It is eaſy to compute how ſoon this money muſt be exhauſted by armies of 24,000 archers, and 6000 horſe, when each archer had ſixpence a day, and each horſemen two ſhillings. The moſt ſplendid ſucceſſes proved commonly fruitleſs, when ſupported by ſo poor a revenue; and the debts and difficulties which the king thereby incurred, made him pay dearly for his victories. The civil adminiſtration, likewiſe, even in peace, could never be very regular, where the government was ſo ill enabled to ſupport itſelf; and Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted when prince of Wales.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

Government during the minority.—State of France.—The Maid of Orleans.—Death of the duke of Bedford.—Decline of the Engliſh in France.—Truce with France.—Marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou.—Murder of the duke of Gloceſter.—Renewal of the War with France.—The Engliſh expelled.—Claim of the Duke of York.—The parties of York and Lancaſter.—Civil Wars.—Death of the duke of York.—Edward the IVth aſſumes the Crown.—Battle of Touton.—Henry eſcapes into Scotland.—Battle of Hexham.—Henry taken priſoner.—Edward's Marriage.—Diſguſt of the earl of Warwic.—Edward expelled.—Henry reſtored.—Edward Returns.—Battle of Barnet, and Death of Warwic.—Battle of Teukeſbury, and murder of Prince Edward.—Death of Henry VI.—Invaſion of France.—Peace of Pecquigni.—Death and Character of Edward IV.

DURING the reign of the Lancaſtrian princes, the privileges of the people were more regarded than during any former period; and the long minority, of which there was now the proſpect, encouraged the lords and commons to extend ſtill farther their influence. Without attending to the verbal diſtinction of Henry V. they aſſumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole adminiſtration: they declined altogether the name of *regent* with regard to England; they appointed the duke of Bedford *protector* or *guardian* of that kingdom, a title which they ſuppoſed to imply leſs authority: they inveſted the duke of Gloceſter with the ſame dignity during the abſence of his elder brother: and in order to limit the power of both theſe princes, they appointed a council, with-

out whoſe advice and approbation no meaſure of importance could be determined. The perſon and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beaufort, biſhop of Wincheſter, his great uncle, and the legitimate ſon of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter; a prelate who, as his family could never have any pretenſions to the crown, might ſafely, they thought, be intruſted with that important charge.

The conqueſt of France was the firſt object of the new government; and when the ſtate of affairs between the Engliſh and French kings was conſidered with a ſuperficial eye, every advantage ſeemed to be on the ſide of the former. Though Henry was yet in his infancy, the duke of Bedford was the moſt accompliſhed prince of his age. The whole power of England was at his command; he was at the head of armies accuſtomed to victory; he was ſeconded by the moſt renowned generals of his time; and beſides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of the Engliſh, he was maſter of Paris, and almoſt all the northern provinces.

But Charles, notwithſtanding his apparent inferiority, poſſeſſed ſome advantages which ſerved to control the force and opulence of his enemies. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy. All Frenchmen who knew the intereſt, or deſired the independence of their country, turned their eyes towards him as their ſole reſource. That ſpirit of faction which had blinded the people, could not long hold them in ſo groſs a deluſion; and their national and inveterate hatred againſt the Engliſh, would inſpire them with indignation at bending their necks under the yoke of that hoſtile people. Charles himſelf, though only in his twentieth year, was of the moſt friendly and benign diſpoſition, of eaſy and familiar manners, and of a juſt, though not of a very vigorous underſtanding. The love of pleaſure often ſeduced him into indolence; but amidſt all his irregularities, the goodneſs of his heart ſtill ſhone forth; and by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved that his remiſſneſs pro-

proceeded not from the want either of a pure ſpirit of ambition or of perſonal valour.

The reſentment of the duke of Burgundy againſt Charles ſtill continued; and as the former ſeemed intent rather on gratifying his paſſion than conſulting his intereſts, it was more eaſy for the duke of Bedford, by demonſtrations of reſpect and confidence, to retain him in the alliance of England: he bent therefore all his endeavours to that purpoſe; he even offered him the regency of France which Philip declined; and that he might corroborate national connexions by private ties, he concluded his own marriage with the princeſs of Burgundy, which had been ſtipulated at the treaty of Arras.

The regent next attempted to gain the duke of Brittany, by means of his brother Arthur count of Richemont, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Azincour, had been treated with great indulgence by the late king, and had even been permitted on his parole to take a journey into Brittany. The death of that victorious monarch happened before Richemont's return, and this prince pretended that as his word was given perſonally to Henry the Fifth, he was not bound to fulfil it towards his ſon and ſucceſſor; a chicane which the regent, as he could not force him to compliance, deemed it prudent to overlook. An interview was ſettled between the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany, at which the count of Richemont was alſo preſent; the alliance was renewed between theſe princes; and the regent perſuaded Philip to give in marriage to Richemont his eldeſt ſiſter, widow of the deceaſed dauphin Lewis, the elder brother of Charles.

While the vigilance of the duke of Bedford was employed in gaining or confirming theſe allies, he did not overlook the ſtate of more remote countries. The duke of Albany, regent of Scotland had expired; and his power had devolved on Murdac his ſon, a prince of a weak underſtanding and indolent diſpoſition. The ardour of the Scots to ſerve in France, where Charles treated them with great diſtinction, and where the re-

gent's brother enjoyed the dignity of conſtable, broke out afreſh under this feeble adminiſtration. New ſuccours daily came over, and filled the armies of the French king. The duke of Bedford therefore perſuaded the Engliſh council to form an alliance with James their priſoner; to free him from captivity, and to marry him to a daughter of the earl of Somerſet; and couſin of the young king. The regent, tired of his ſtation, entered ſincerely into the treaty; and for a ranſom of forty thouſand pounds, the king of Scotland was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors.

To theſe negociations ſucceeded the operations of war. Charles, ſtill deſirous of employing his enemies in the provinces north of the Loire, conteſted every caſtle with politic obſtinacy. He had been lately reinforced by numbers of the Scots; and John Stuart, conſtable of Scotland, with the lord of Eſtiſſac, had formed the ſiege of Crevant in Burgundy. The earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk marched to its relief: the beſigers were routed, with the loſs of above a thouſand men; and the conſtable of Scotland, with the count of Ventadour, were taken priſoners. This victory was attended by the capture of Gaillon upon the Seine, and La Charitè upon the Loire; and the paſſage of that river ſeemed open to the Engliſh.

A. D. 1424. Charles was ſenſible that the war could not long be protracted if the ſouthern provinces were expoſed to the ravages of his enemies: the late defeat had not broken his ſpirit, or induced him to relinquiſh a ſyſtem, the propriety of which he was ſo well aſſured of. The duke of Bedford had been for three months engaged in the ſiege of Yvri in Normandy; and the governor finding the reſources exhauſted, had agreed to ſurrender the town, unleſs relieved by a certain day. The king of France hoped, by a ſucceſsful enterprize, to reſtore the luſtre of his arms, and to preſerve Yvri. He collected with diligence, although with difficulty, an army of fourteen thouſand men, of whom one half were Scots; and entruſted it to the valour and experience of the

earl

earl of Buchan, conſtable of France, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the defeat of the duke of Clarence. That general was accompanied by the earl of Douglas, the duke of Alençon, the mareſchal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viſcount of Narbonne. He arrived too late to ſuccour Yvri, which had already opened her gates; but he immediately inveſted Verneuil, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it, by the levity of its inhabitants. He had ſcarce time to ſecure his own conqueſt before he was informed of the approach of the duke of Bedford. A council of war was immediately aſſembled to determine what conduct they ſhould purſue. In vain did the moſt experienced French officers urge the glory they had already attained, in an acquiſition no leſs important than the place which they had been ſent to relieve; in vain did they remonſtrate on the imprudence of hazarding an army, the laſt reſource of their king: the Scots rejected with contempt the indignity of retiring before the Engliſh; their opinions were eſpouſed by the raſh and preſumptuous; and they reſolved to wait the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

The armies which encountered each other near Verneuil were equally balanced in point of numbers. The earl of Buchan reſolved to expect with patient firmneſs the charge of the enemy; but his meaſures were diſconcerted by the impatience of the viſcount of Narbonne; that nobleman, with the troops under his immediate command, ruſhed forward to attack his adverſaries; and the conſtable, to ſupport him, was compelled to abandon the advantageous ground which he had choſen. Yet even this error did not prevent the day from being obſtinately diſputed; the Engliſh archers were broken, and rallied again with difficulty; but the cavalry, animated by the preſence and example of the duke of Bedford, charged with irreſiſtible fury. After a bloody conflict, the French, preſſed on all ſides, began gradually to retreat; and that retreat was ſoon changed into a tumultuous flight. Four thouſand of their braveſt ſoldiers, with the earls of

Buchan and Douglas, the counts of Aumale, Ventadour, and Narbonne, periſhed in the field. But the victors purchaſed their triumph at the expence of ſixteen hundred men; a loſs ſo unuſual, that the duke of Bedford forbad all rejoicings for his ſucceſs.

Verneuil capitulated the next day; and the deſtruction of Charles appeared inevitable. The equal temper with which he ſupported a ſeries of inceſſant miſfortunes, eſtabliſhed his fame; but from the danger which threatened to overwhelm him, he could only be ſaved by the diſſenſions of his enemies; and the imprudence of the Engliſh raviſhed from their graſp a conqueſt of which they deemed themſelves ſecure.

Jaqueline, counteſs of Hainault and Holland, and heireſs of thoſe provinces, had eſpouſed John, duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy; the marriage had been dictated by policy; but the maſculine ſpirit and brilliant capacity of the princeſs deſpiſed her ill-ſorted conſort, equally feeble in body and mind, and who had only attained his fifteenth year. Contempt was ſoon the parent of antipathy; and impatient of the dilatory meaſures and doubtful determination of the court of Rome, ſhe eſcaped into England, and ſolicited the protection of the duke of Glouceſter. The impetuous paſſions of that prince blinded him to the true intereſts of his country; the charms of the counteſs, the inheritance ſhe was poſſeſſed of, preſented themſelves to his view. Without waiting for a diſpenſation from the pope, without endeavouring to conciliate the duke of Burgundy, he entered into a marriage contract with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to render himſelf maſter of her dominions.

The duke of Burgundy reſented the injury offered to his kinſman, the duke of Brabant; he encouraged him to reſiſt the uſurpation, and allured to his ſtandard the ſubjects of Jaqueline. At length, he openly declared in his favour, and marched his troops to his ſupport; while the quarrel which at firſt was political, ſoon became perſonal, from ſome unguard-

ed

ed expreſſions in his correſpondence with the duke of Glouceſter.

That prince, to ſupport his pretenſions in Hainault and Holland, had intercepted the ſuccours intended for the duke of Bedford, and for the proſecution of the war in France; and the ſame diſſenſions diverted the aid which the duke of Burgundy had engaged to furniſh. In vain did the regent repreſent to his brother, the danger of alienating that confederate, whoſe friendſhip was of the utmoſt importance, and whom the late king had enjoined them with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. The duke of Glouceſter ſtill perſiſted in preſſing the war in the Low Countries; and the duke of Bedford, inſtead of improving the victory of Verneuil, was obliged to croſs the ſeas to England, that he might try, by his counſels and authority, to moderate the meaſures of his brother.

He found the Engliſh miniſtry diſtracted by jealouſy; the biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom the care of the king's education was entruſted, a prelate of capacity, but of an intriguing character, had continual diſputes with his nephew the protector: the duke of Bedford employed the authority of parliament to reconcile them; and the rivals ſwore to bury all quarrels in oblivion: and time alſo ſeemed to open expedients for compoſing the difference with the duke of Burgundy.

The pope had already declared void the contract of that prince with Jaqueline; and A.D. 1425. alſo added, that in caſe of the duke of Brabant's death, ſhe ſhould not be at liberty to eſpouſe the duke of Glouceſter. Humphrey deſpairing of ſucceſs, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived ſome time with him as his miſtreſs. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before ſhe could recover poſſeſſion of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in caſe ſhe ſhould die without iſſue, and to promiſe never to marry without his conſent. But the advantage which

the

the latter prince reaped from the accommodation of theſe differences, did not prevent him in future from regarding the Engliſh with jealouſy; and the ſatisfaction which the regent enjoyed from reconciling one ally, was ſoon alloyed by the unexpected deſertion of another.

The count of Richemont had ever ſhewn himſelf deſirous of being placed at the head of an army; a truſt which the duke of Bedford was by no means willing to repoſe in him. Although allied by marriage to that prince and the duke of Burgundy, theſe feeble bands were not capable of reſiſting the torrent of his military ambition. By the death of the earl of Buchan, the important poſt of conſtable of France was vacant; and Charles, informed of the diſcontent of the earl of Richemont, offered him the ſword, the object of his martial deſires. The count cloſed with his propoſal; and his influence over his brother, the duke of Britanny, induced that prince to renounce his engagements with England, and to eſpouſe the cauſe of Charles the Seventh.

A. D. 1426. An Engliſh army of three thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Warwick, during theſe political negotiations, had formed the ſiege of Montarges, and that place was reduced to the laſt extremity. Charles collected a body of ſixteen hundred men, and entruſted them to a natural ſon of that duke of Orleans who had been aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy. This general, who was afterwards ſo famous under the different deſcriptions of Baſtard of Orleans and Count of Dunois, attacked the enemy's entrenchments, and compelled the Engliſh to abandon the ſiege with diſgrace.

A. D. 1427. The duke of Bedford had beheld with indignation the levity or treachery with which the duke of Brittany had renounced his former engagements, to enter into new ones with Charles. Immediately on his arrival in France, he ſecretly aſſembled a conſiderable army to chaſtiſe the

deſertion of that prince; he ſuddenly invaded the province, unprepared for reſiſtance; he compelled the duke to renounce his alliance with France; to ſubſcribe to the treaty of Troyes; to acknowlege his title as regent; and to yield homage to Henry for his duchy. Succeſsful in his enterprize, he entered on another equally important, and determined to inveſt the city of Orleans, which, ſituated between the provinces commanded by Henry and thoſe poſſeſſed by Charles, opened an eaſy entrance to either. The army for this ſiege, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, he entruſted to the veteran abilities of the earl of Saliſbury. The firſt motions of the Engliſh appriſed Charles of their intentions; he reinforced the garriſon, repleniſhed the magazines, and appointed as governor the lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain.

The forces of the earl of Saliſbury were not ſufficiently numerous to inveſt Orleans on every ſide; and he reſolved to preſs his attacks againſt the ſouthern quarter towards Sologne, and leave that towards the Béauſſe open to the enemy; but he himſelf was killed by a cannon ball, in a ſpirited and ſucceſsful attempt on the fortifications. The command, on the death of Saliſbury, devolved on the earl of Suffolk. The army was reinforced by large bodies of the French and Burgundians; and Orleans under his directions was compleatly inveſted. The inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the rigour of the winter, could not overcome the perſeverance of the beſiegers; a chain of forts was arduouſly conſtructed; yet the vacant ſpaces ſtill allowed ſuccours to be introduced; the garriſon, before the return of ſpring, was ſwelled by frequent ſupplies from twelve hundred to three thouſand men; and their hopes were raiſed, and their efforts encouraged, by the preſence and example of the Baſtard of Orleans. A.D. 1428. 1429.

The French themſelves, to diſtreſs the beſiegers, had ravaged and exhauſted the adjacent country; and the Engliſh were compelled to draw their ſubſiſtence from a conſiderable diſtance. A convoy of proviſions

was

was entruſted to the conduct of ſir John Falſtoffe, with a detachment of two thouſand five hundred men. The king of France, determined to exert every nerve for the preſervation of the city, collected a body of troops, in number about four thouſand, and appointed the count of Clermont to command them. On the approach of the French, Falſtoffe drew up his men behind the waggons, and calmly received the fury of their charge. The French were broken by their own impetuoſity; five hundred periſhed on the field; and this action, from the proviſions of which the convoy was compoſed, obtained the name of the battle of Herrings.

Diſappointed in his attempt to relieve Orleans by arms, the king of France now endeavoured to preſerve it by policy. The duke of Orleans, ſtill a priſoner in England, had obtained from the duke of Glouceſter, and his council, the promiſe of a neutrality in his demeſnes; and that they ſhould be ſequeſtered during the war into the hands of the duke of Burgundy; but this expedient was firmly rejected by the duke of Bedford; and to the importunities of the duke of Burgundy he coolly replied, *he was not in a humour to beat the buſhes whilſt others ran away with game.* That prince, diſguſted with his refuſal, ſeparated his forces from thoſe of the Engliſh; but the latter ſtill preſſed the ſiege with increaſe of ardour; and the jealouſy of the former might have protracted, but could not have averted, the fate of Orleans, when it was preſerved by an occurrence ſo ſingular as almoſt to ſtagger belief, and which can only be received on the undoubted teſtimony of concurring and contemporary hiſtorians.

Charles, depreſſed and deſponding, had already began to meditate a retreat into Dauphiné. From this intention he was diverted by the intreaties of his queen, Mary of Anjou, a princeſs of prudence and ſpirit; and by the more perſuaſive remonſtrances of his beautiful miſtreſs, the celebrated Agnes de Sorele.

While

While he anxiouſly and hourly expected the fatal intelligence that Orleans had ſurrendered, his attention was engaged by the appearance of a village girl, deſtined to prop his falling fortunes, and reſtore to him the dominions of his anceſtors. In the village of Domremi, near Vaucoleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, at a ſmall inn, reſided a female ſervant called Joan D'Arc; ſhe had been accuſtomed to ride the horſes of her maſter's gueſts to water; her employment and converſation with the company whom ſhe attended, had given her a degree of boldneſs above her ſex; and ſhe liſtened with pleaſure to the martial achievements, the conſtant topics of converſation in a warlike age.

She was ſoon inflamed with the deſire of avenging on the Engliſh the miſery of France; and an ignorant mind might poſſibly miſtake the impulſe of her paſſion for heavenly inſpirations. She procured admiſſion to Badricourt, the governor of Vaucoleurs; ſhe declared to him, that ſhe had been exhorted by frequent viſions and diſtant voices, to achieve the deliverance of her country; and the governor, either equally credulous himſelf, or ſufficiently penetrating to foreſee the effect ſuch an enthuſiaſt might have on the mind of the vulgar, granted her an eſcort to the French court, which at that time reſided at Chinon, in Touraine.

On her arrival at Chinon, ſhe is ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed Charles from his courtiers, though diveſted of every enſign of royalty; to have revealed a ſecret to him unknown to all the world beſide himſelf; and to have demanded and deſcribed by particular marks, a ſword which ſhe had never ſeen, and which ſhe required as the inſtrument of her future victories: ſhe aſſerted, that ſhe was commiſſioned to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims; to be there crowned and anointed. Charles and his miniſters pretended to examine her pretenſions with ſcrupulous exactneſs; they affected at length to be convinced of the ſincerity of her declarations, and of her ſupernatural

tural powers; their opinion was ſolemnly and publickly countenanced by an aſſembly of doctors and theologians, and by the parliament of France, then reſiding at Poictiers. After repeated examinations, the miſſion of Joan D'Arc was pronounced to be divine; and the ſpirits of a deſpairing people were again elevated by the hope that heaven had declared itſelf in favour of France.

That Charles might avail himſelf of the enthuſiaſm of the moment, he ſent Joan to Blois, where a convoy was already provided for the relief of Orleans, and an army of ten thouſand men was collected to eſcort it. The holy maid, diſplaying in her hand a conſecrated banner, marched at the head of her troops. She had already declared her intention of entering the city by the road from the ſide of Beauſſe; but the Baſtard of Orleans, whom we ſhall hereafter ſtile count of Dunois, unwilling entirely to truſt the operations of war to the ſuggeſtions of fanaticiſm, controlled the raſh deſign; and perſuaded Joan to approach the town on the oppoſite ſide of the Loire, where he knew the beſiegers were weakeſt.

The Engliſh had at firſt heard with contempt the preparations of Charles, and derided the heavenly commiſſion of Joan; but the minds of the common ſoldiers were inſenſibly impreſſed with holy dread, and they awaited the event with anxious terror. The earl of Suffolk, appriſed of the diſpoſition of his troops, vainly flattered himſelf that time would diſpel their fears and baniſh the illuſion. He determined to remain quietly within his intrenchments, while the convoy entered the city with Joan, and the French army returned to Blois without interruption. But inaction ſerved only to confirm theſe alarms which the tumult of war might have baniſhed: the Engliſh beheld their enemies triumphant, and the predictions of Joan, who acquired the ſurname of the Maid of Orleans, in part fulfilled. A ſecond convoy ſoon after entered the city, on the ſide of Beauſſe, and was alſo ſuffered by the beſiegers to paſs without reſiſtance.

The

The French aſſumed new ſpirits; while the Engliſh, formerly elated with victory and impatient for action, beheld the enterprizes of their enemies in ſilent aſtoniſhment and religious conſternation.

But even this ſtate of inactivity was no longer permitted to them; the enthuſiaſm of Joan could not be reſtrained within the walls of Orleans: ſhe exhorted the garriſon to liſten to her voice, and imitate her example. In a ſucceſsful ſally, the entrenchments of the beſiegers were ſtormed; even the renowned ſir John Talbot dared not wait her approach. A ſecond ſally ſwept away the forts on the oppoſite ſide of the Loire; and a wound from an arrow, which in the attack was inflicted on the neck of Joan, ſerved rather to inflame than damp the courage of the intrepid heroine. The count of Dunois conſented to ſeize the moment of returning fortune; the Engliſh were ſucceſſively chaſed from their poſts, with the loſs of above ſix thouſand men; the earl of Suffolk determined to raiſe a ſiege which he could no longer continue with probabilty of ſucceſs; and the French animated by this firſt eſſay of the holy maid, prepared to improve their advantage, and avail themſelves of the ſuperſtitious terrors of their adverſaries.

With ſix thouſand ſelect troops Suffolk had retreated to Jergeau: he was attacked there by the French, commanded by Joan; the ſiege laſted ten days, and the place was obſtinately defended; but the Engliſh were at length overpowered, and Suffolk was obliged to yield himſelf priſoner to a Frenchman called Renaud; before he ſubmitted, he aſked his adverſary, Whether he was a knight? Renaud anſwered, that he had not yet attained that honour, *then I make you one*, replied Suffolk; upon which he gave him the blow with his ſword which dubbed him into that fraternity; and he immediately ſurrendered himſelf his priſoner.

The remainder of the Engliſh army under the conduct of Falſtoffe, Scales, and Talbot, were preſſed by the conſtable Richemont; they were overtaken at the

the village of Patay; and oppreſſed by their fears, they never waited the charge of the enemy. The example of flight was given by Falſtoffe himſelf, who had ſo lately triumphed at the battle of Herrings; two thouſand of the Engliſh were ſlaughtered; and both Scales and Talbot were made priſoners.

The Maid of Orleans had fulfilled part of her promiſe by raiſing the ſiege of that city; but a more arduous enterprize remained, to conduct the king to receive the crown at Rheims. The city itſelf lay diſtant from any place poſſeſſed by Charles; it was in the hands of the Engliſh; and the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garriſons. Yet Joan inſiſted on the execution of her miſſion; the king himſelf ſhook off his general indolence, and reſolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike propheteſs; the nobility of France crowded to the ſtandard of their youthful ſovereign, who began his march at the head of twelve thouſand men; he paſſed without interruption through an enemy's country; received in his progreſs the ſubmiſſion of Troyes; was inſtantly admitted into Rheims; and in that city was ſolemnly inaugurated; the Maid of Orleans ſtanding by his ſide in compleat armour, and diſplaying during the ceremony her holy banner. The claim of Charles from his coronation at Rheims, received new luſtre; and Laon, Soiſſons, Chatteau-Thierri, Provins, and many other towns in the neighbourhood, diſputed the honour of firſt acknowledging the authority of their lawful ſovereign.

A. D. 1430. The prudence of Bedford had been conſtantly exerted to ſtem the torrent; nor was his character ever diſplayed to more advantage than amidſt the ſtorms of adverſity. He reinforced the garriſons of the different towns, repleniſhed their magazines, and overawed the inclinations of the inhabitants ripe for revolt. The Pariſians were retained in obedience by alternate careſſes and menaces; and his arts ſoothed the angry paſſions of the duke of Burgundy, and deferred the fatal hour of his defection.

The

The biſhop of Wincheſter, his uncle, had landed in Calais with a body of five thouſand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites. The duke of Bedford prevailed on him to prop the declining cauſe of Henry with theſe ſuccours: at the head of them he oppoſed the king of France, advancing towards the gates of Paris. But ſtill doubtful of the confidence of his own troops, while he ſeemed to face the enemy, he choſe his poſts with ſo much care and diſcernment, that Charles in vain endeavoured to compel him to a deciſive action. Haraſſed by the vigilance of the regent, the army of France, which had been compoſed chiefly of volunteers, at length diſbanded; Charles, after having poſſeſſed himſelf of Laval, Lagni, and St. Denys, retired to Bourges; and Bedford invited Henry the Sixth to Paris; celebrated the ceremony of his coronation in that capital; and exacted an oath of allegiance from the vaſſals of the crown, who lived within the provinces which acknowledged the authority of the Engliſh.

Whatever luſtre the coronation of the infant king might reflect on his cauſe, the regent expected to derive more ſolid advantage from an accident which placed within his power the author of his late diſgraces and defeats. Joan D'Arc had declared, that with the inauguration of Charles at Rheims, her miſſion expired; and that it was her wiſh, after having fulfilled her promiſes, to retire to her former condition. The count of Dunois had exhorted her to perſevere till the Engliſh were finally expelled. Overcome by his importunities, ſhe had thrown herſelf into Compeigne, which at that time was beſieged by the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. In a ſally on the quarters of John of Luxemburg, ſhe was deſerted by her friends, ſurrounded by her enemies, and, after a gallant reſiſtance, taken priſoner. She is ſuppoſed to have been betrayed by the baſe envy of the French, who repined at every ſucceſs being aſcribed to her influence; and the neglect of Charles, who made not the ſlighteſt effect to procure her releaſe,

proves that he no longer expected to derive any benefit from the inſtrument he had adopted.

The duke of Bedford purchaſed from John of Luxemburg, his important captive, and commenced a proſecution againſt her, which, whether undertaken from policy or revenge, ſtains with barbarity his accompliſhed character. As a priſoner of war Joan was entitled to the courteſy of good uſage, practiſed by civilized nations; and in her military capacity ſhe never had been impeached of acting with treachery or cruelty. But her enemies were inexorable; and to diſguiſe the ſource of their enmity, they prevailed on the biſhop of Beauvais, a prelate looſe in his principles, and wholly devoted to their intereſts, to proſtitute the ſacred name of religion to the perſecution they meditated. The biſhop pretended that Joan had been taken in his dioceſe, and deſired to have her tried by an eccleſiaſtical court for ſorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic: the univerſity of Paris diſgraced itſelf by joining the requeſt. But Joan for a long time defended herſelf with manly firmneſs; ſhe acknowledged her intention to expel in the Engliſh, the invaders of her country; and replied, that ſhe ſubmitted her inſpirations, which her judges urged as magical, to God, the fountain of truth. But ſhe was already prejudged; her revelations were declared to be the inventions of the devil to delude the people; and ſhe was ſentenced to be delivered over to the ſecular arm. It is with indignation the reader muſt peruſe her fate: after relieving her country from the oppreſſive yoke of its enemies; after reſtoring her prince to his native throne, and his ſubjects to their freedom, the Maid of Orleans was condemned to be burnt in the market-place of Rouen: the inhuman ſentence was ſoon after executed, and the unhappy victim was delivered alive to the flames.

But the inhumanity of the Engliſh contributed not to advance their intereſts: the illuſion which had ſo long oppreſſed them with terror was indeed diſpelled, but the tide of fortune ſtill continued to flow rapidly againſt them; the French triumphed in repeated and

ſucceſſive encounters, which, though of ſmall conſequence in themſelves, ſerved to confirm their confidence, and proclaim an approaching revolution. This event was accelerated by a rupture between the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford. The bands of friendſhip had been looſened by the death of the ducheſs of the latter; and the former complained, that the memory of his ſiſter was inſulted by the haſty marriage of the regent with Jaqueline of Luxemburg. All advances toward a reconciliation were diſdained by two princes equally tenacious of their dignity; and Charles availed himſelf of the diſcontent of the duke of Burgundy to negotiate the celebrated treaty, ſince known by the name of the treaty of Arras.

The Engliſh were invited to join the congreſs at St. Vaaſt, and the cardinal of Wincheſter appeared as the ambaſſador of Henry; but the pretenſions of the court of London admitted not yet of accommodation; and the cardinal of Wincheſter ſcarce deigned to anſwer the offer of Guienne and Normandy, loaded with the uſual ſtipulation of homage to the crown of France. The claims of the duke of Burgundy were liſtened to with greater condeſcenſion; the conditions were dictated by the commanding ſituation of Philip, and ſubſcribed by the neceſſities of Charles. Beſides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke's father, the king of France ceded to him all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the Low Countries; he agreed that theſe and all the other dominions of Philip, ſhould be held by him during his life, without doing any homage, or ſwearing fealty to the preſent king; and he freed his ſubjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty. A. D. 1435.

By this negociation the Engliſh were deprived of an important ally; and the reſentment with which they loaded the herald whom the duke of Burgundy had ſent to notify the treaty of Arras, converted that prince into an open enemy. A few days after this tranſaction

the duke of Bedford expired, a prince of many virtues, and whoſe memory is only tarniſhed by the execution of the Maid of Orleans. A little before him, Iſabella, the queen dowager, had breathed her laſt, univerſally deteſted and deſpiſed.

A. D. 1436. The court of London, after the death of Bedford, was diſtracted by the rival parties of the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter: it was ſeven months before the duke of York, ſon to the earl of Cambridge, who had been executed in the laſt reign, was appointed to the command in France. On his arrival the new governor found the capital already loſt; the Pariſians, attached to the houſe of Burgundy, imitated the example of that duke; they opened their gates to the count of Richemont, and proclaimed Charles the Seventh. Lord Willoughby, with an Engliſh garriſon of fifteen hundred men, maintained himſelf for ſome time in the Baſtile; but his valour and ſkill only ſerved to procure him a capitulation, by which he was allowed with his troops a free paſſage to Rouen.

A. D. 1436. 1440. For five years the duke of York ſtruggled againſt the difficulties of his ſituation; and being aſſiſted by the valour of lord Talbot, ſoon after created earl of Shrewſbury, he performed actions which acquired him honour, but merit not the attention of poſterity: both parties weary of hoſtilities which decided nothing, ſeemed deſirous of peace, and they ſet on foot negociations for that purpoſe. But the propoſals of France, and the demands of England, were ſtill ſo wide of each other, that all hope of accommodation immediately vaniſhed. The Engliſh ambaſſadors demanded reſtitution of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, together with the final ceſſion of Calais and its diſtrict; and required the poſſeſſion of theſe extenſive territories without the burthen of any fealty or homage on the part of their prince: the French offered only part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the uſual burthen. It appeared in vain to continue the negociation, while

there was ſo little proſpect of agreement. The Engliſh were ſtill too haughty to ſtoop from the vaſt hopes which they had formerly entertained, and to accept of terms more ſuitable to the preſent condition of the two kingdoms.

The duke of York ſoon after reſigned his government to the earl of Warwic, a nobleman of reputation, whom death prevented from long enjoying this dignity. The duke, upon the demiſe of that nobleman, returned to his charge; and, during his adminiſtration, a truce was concluded between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which had become neceſſary for the commercial intereſts of their ſubjects. The war with France continued in the ſame languid and feeble ſtate as before.

The captivity of five princes of the blood, taken priſoners in the battle of Azincour, was a conſiderable advantage which England long enjoyed over its enemy; but this ſuperiority was now entirely loſt. Some of theſe princes had died; ſome had been ranſomed; and the duke of Orleans, the moſt powerful among them, was the laſt that remained in the hands of the Engliſh. He offered the ſum of 54,000 nobles for his liberty; and when this propoſal was laid before the council of England, as every queſtion was there an object of faction, the party of the duke of Glouceſter, and that of the cardinal of Wincheſter, were divided in their ſentiments with regard to it. The duke reminded the council of the dying advice of the late king, that none of theſe priſoners ſhould on any account be releaſed, till his ſon ſhould be of ſufficient age to hold himſelf the reins of government. The cardinal inſiſted on the greatneſs of the ſum offered, which, in reality, was near equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary ſupplies that the parliament, during the courſe of ſeven years, had granted for the ſupport of the war; and he added, that the releaſe of this prince was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to the Engliſh intereſts, by filling the court of France with faction, and giving a head to thoſe numerous malcontents whom Charles was at preſent able

with great difficulty to reſtrain. The cardinal's party, as uſual, prevailed: and the duke of Orleans was releaſed, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years.

A. D. 1440. 1443. The ſentiments of the cardinal ſoon after prevailed in another point of ſtill greater importance. That prelate had always encouraged every propoſal of accommodation with France, and had repreſented the utter impoſſibility of puſhing farther the conqueſts in that kingdom; but the duke of Glouceſter, high-ſpirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretenſions which the firſt ſucceſſes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not endure theſe humble counſels: the influence of his rival, however, prevailed, and the earl of Suffolk, who adhered to the cardinal's party, was diſpatched to Tours to negociate with the French miniſters. As it was found impoſſible to adjuſt the terms of a laſting peace, he concluded a truce for twenty-two months; and proceeded to the execution of another buſineſs, which ſeems to have been rather implied than expreſſed in his commiſſion.

As Henry advanced in years, his character became more fully known; of the moſt harmleſs, ſimple manners, but of the moſt ſlender capacity, he was fitted to be always governed; and it was eaſy to foreſee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of chooſing him a queen. The duke of Glouceſter propoſed a daughter of the count of Armagnac; but the cardinal and his friends caſt their eyes on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem; a princeſs accompliſhed both in perſon and mind; of a maſculine ſpirit and enterpriſing temper, and who had not been able to conceal theſe talents even in the privacy of her father's family. The earl of Suffolk, in concert with his aſſociates of the Engliſh council, made propoſals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. But this nobleman, beſides pre-occupying the princeſs's favour, by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with her

and

and her family, by very extraordinary conceſſions: though Margaret brought no dowry with her, he ventured, of himſelf, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a ſecret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the Engliſh, ſhould be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle, who was prime miniſter, and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his maſter the grant of that province as his appanage.

The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: Suffolk obtained firſt the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of parliament for his ſervices in concluding it. The princeſs fell immediately into cloſe connexion with the cardinal and his party, the dukes of Somerſet, Suffolk, and Buckingham; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, reſolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloceſter. A. D. 1443. 1447.

This generous prince, worſted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not ſuited; but poſſeſſing, in a high degree, the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating the public peace, but which it was impoſſible that a perſon of his ſpirit and humanity could ever forgive. His ducheſs, the daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, had been accuſed of the crime of witchcraft, and it was pretended that there was found in her poſſeſſion a waxen figure of the king, which ſhe and her aſſociates, ſir Roger Bolingbroke a prieſt, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a ſlow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waſte away by like inſenſible degrees. The accuſation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age; and the ducheſs was brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of this crime, ſo oppoſite to all common ſenſe, ſeems always to exempt the accuſers from obſerving the rules of common

ſenſe in their evidence: the priſoners were pronounced guilty; the ducheſs was condemned to do public penance, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment; the others were executed.

Theſe violent proceedings were by no means approved by the people; and the cardinal and his party were ſenſible it was neceſſary to deſtroy a man whom they had already ſo deeply injured. In order to effect this purpoſe, a parliament was ſummoned to meet, not at London, which was well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmundſbury. As ſoon as Gloceſter appeared, he was accuſed, and thrown into priſon: he was ſoon after found dead in his bed; and though it was pretended that his death was natural, and though his body bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies.

This prince is ſaid to have received a better education than was uſual in his age; and to have been more free from credulity than his contemporaries; of which the following inſtance is given by ſir Thomas More. There was a man who pretended, though born blind, that he had recovered his ſight by touching the ſhrine of St. Alban. The duke, happening ſoon after to paſs that way, queſtioned the man, and ſeeming to doubt of his ſight, aſked him the colours of ſeveral cloaks, worn by perſons of his retinue. The man told them very readily. *You are a knave*, cried the prince; *had you been born blind you could not ſo ſoon have learned to diſtinguiſh colours:* and immediately ordered him to be ſet in the ſtocks as an impoſtor.

The cardinal of Wincheſter died ſix weeks after his nephew, whoſe murder was univerſally aſcribed to him as well as to the duke of Suffolk, and which, it is ſaid, gave him more remorſe in his laſt moments, than could naturally be expected from a man hardened, during the courſe of a long life, in falſehood and in politics. What ſhare the queen had in this guilt, is uncertain; her uſual activity and ſpirit made the public conclude, with ſome reaſon, that the duke's ene-

enemies durſt not have ventured on ſuch a deed without her privity. But there happened, ſoon after, an event, of which ſhe and her favourite, the duke of Suffolk, bore inconteſtibly the whole odium.

The article of the marriage treaty, by which Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, had hitherto been kept ſecret; but as the court of France inſiſted on the performance of it, orders were diſpatched to Surienne, governor of Mans, to ſurrender that place: the governor, queſtioning probably the legality of the order, refuſed to comply until he had ſuſtained a ſiege from the count of Dunois. When reduced to capitulate, he retired with his garriſon, amounting to 2500 men, towards Normandy. But the duke of Somerſet, to whom the provinces of France, ſtill occupied by the Engliſh, were entruſted, either from want of capacity, or inclination, to ſubſiſt this additional army, refuſed to admit him. This military adventurer immediately directed his march towards Britanny, and exacted contributions from that province; the duke of Britanny complained of this violence to the king of France, his liege lord: Charles remonſtrated with the duke of Somerſet: that nobleman replied, that the injury was done without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his companions. Though this anſwer ought to have appeared ſatisfactory to Charles, who had often felt ſeverely the licentious, independent ſpirit of ſuch mercenary ſoldiers, he never would admit of the apology. He ſtill inſiſted that theſe plunderers ſhould be recalled, and that reparation ſhould be made to the duke of Britanny for all the damages which he had ſuſtained. And, in order to render an accommodation abſolutely impracticable, he made the eſtimation of damages amount to no leſs a ſum than 1,600,000 crowns. He was ſenſible of the ſuperiority which the preſent ſtate of his affairs gave him over England; and he determined to take advantage of it.

Four formidable armies entered Normandy at once; the firſt, commanded by the king of France himſelf; the ſecond, by the duke of Britanny; the third, by the duke A. D. 1448. 1450.

of Alençon; and the fourth by the count of Dunois: the inhabitants of Normandy opened their gates as ſoon as the French appeared before them. The duke of Somerſet, ſo far from having an army which could take the field and relieve theſe places, was not able to ſupply them with the neceſſary garriſons and proviſions. He retired, with the few troops of which he was maſter, into Rouen; and thought it ſufficient, if, till the arrival of ſuccours from England, he could ſave that capital from the general fate of the province. The king of France, at the head of a formidable army, fifty thouſand ſtrong, preſented itſelf before the gates: the dangerous example of revolt had affected the inhabitants; and they called aloud for a capitulation. Somerſet, unable to reſiſt, at once, both the enemies within and from without, retired with his garriſon into the palace and caſtle; which, being places not tenable, he was obliged to ſurrender: he purchaſed a retreat to Harfleur by the payment of 56,000 crowns, by engaging to ſurrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in the higher Normandy, and by delivering hoſtages for the performance of articles. The governor of Honfleur refuſed to obey his orders; upon which the earl of Shrewſbury, who was one of the hoſtages, was detained priſoner; and the Engliſh were thus deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their preſent diſtreſſed ſituation. Harfleur made a better defence under ſir Thomas Curſon the governor; but was finally obliged to open its gates to Dunois. Succours at laſt appeared from England under ſir Thomas Kyriel, and landed at Cherbourgh: but theſe came very late, amounted only to 4000 men, and were ſoon after put to rout at Fourmigni by the count of Clermont. This battle, or rather ſkirmiſh, was the only action fought by the Engliſh for the defence of their dominions in France, which they had purchaſed at ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure. Somerſet, ſhut up in Caën without any proſpect of relief, found it neceſſary to capitulate: Falaiſe opened its gates, on condition

that

that the earl of Shrewſbury ſhould be reſtored to liberty: and Cherbourgh, the laſt place in Normandy which remained in the hands of the Engliſh, being delivered up, the conqueſt of that important province was finiſhed in a twelvemonth by Charles, to the great joy of the inhabitants of the whole kingdom.

A like rapid ſucceſs attended the French arms in Guienne; no reſiſtance was made in the field; Bourdeaux ſurrendered; Bayonne was taken; the Engliſh were expelled from a province which they had held for near three centuries: one feeble effort alone was made to recover it; and though no peace was concluded, the war ſeemed to be at an end; and from the continent the attention of the Engliſh was recalled to their domeſtic concerns.

The weakneſs of Henry the Sixth had encouraged a pretender to the crown, and A. D. 1450. the Engliſh were doomed to pay, though late, the penalty of their turbulence under Richard the Second, and of their levity in violating without any neceſſity the lineal ſucceſſion of their monarchs. All the males of the houſe of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the ſiſter of the laſt earl of Marche, having eſpouſed the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V. had tranſmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her ſon, Richard duke of York. This prince, thus deſcended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward III. ſtood plainly in the order of ſucceſſion before the king, who derived his deſcent from the duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of that monarch; and that claim could not, in many reſpects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than thoſe of the duke of York. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild diſpoſition: he had enjoyed an opportunity of diſplaying theſe virtues in his government of France: and though recalled from that command by the intrigues and ſuperior intereſt of the duke of Somerſet, he had been ſent to ſuppreſs a rebellion in Ireland; had ſucceeded much better in that enterprize

prize than his rival in the defence of Normandy; and had even been able to attach to his perſon and family the whole Iriſh nation, whom he was ſent to ſubdue. In the right of his father, he bore the rank of firſt prince of the blood; and by this ſtation he gave a luſtre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though of great nobility, was equalled by other families in the kingdom, and had been eclipſed by the royal deſcent of the houſe of Lancaſter. He poſſeſſed an immenſe fortune from the union of ſo many ſucceſſions, thoſe of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with thoſe of Mortimer on the other: which laſt inheritance had before been augmented by an union of the eſtates of Clarence and Ulſter with the patrimonial poſſeſſions of the family of Marche. The alliances too of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland, had widely extended his intereſt among the nobility, and had procured him many connexions in that formidable order.

The family of Nevil was perhaps at this time the moſt potent that has ever appeared in England; for beſides the earl of Weſtmoreland and the lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny, it might reckon the earls of Saliſbury and Warwic who were of themſelves, on many accounts, the greateſt noblemen in the kingdom. The earl of Saliſbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York, was the eldeſt ſon by a ſecond marriage of the earl of Weſtmoreland; and inherited by his wife, daughter and heir of Montacute earl of Saliſbury, killed before Orleans, the poſſeſſions and title of that great family. His eldeſt ſon, Richard, had married Anne, the daughter and heir of Beauchamp earl of Warwic, who died governor of France; and by this alliance he enjoyed the poſſeſſions, and had acquired the title of that other family, one of the moſt opulent, moſt ancient, and moſt illuſtrious in England. The perſonal qualities alſo of theſe two earls, eſpecially of Warwic, enhanced the ſplendour of their nobility, and increaſed their influence over the peo-

people. This latter nobleman, commonly known, from the ſubſequent events, by the appellation of the *King-maker*, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry in the field, the hoſpitality of his table, by the magnificence, and ſtill more by the generoſity of his expence, and by the ſpirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undeſigned frankneſs and openneſs of his character rendered his conqueſt over men's affections the more certain. No leſs than 30,000 perſons are ſaid to have daily lived at his board at his different caſtles; and his munificence and hoſpitality, with the multitude of his retainers, diſtinguiſh him as the laſt of thoſe mighty barons who formerly overawed the crown.

But though the partiſans of the duke of York were numerous, his chief dependence was on the diſcontents which univerſally prevailed. The people repined at the loſs of the provinces in France; the voluntary ceſſion of Maine made them ſuſpect treachery on the ſide of Normandy and Guienne; the ſtate conſidered Margaret as a French-woman, and a latent enemy to the kingdom: but the moſt fatal blow given to the popularity of the houſe of Lancaſter was the aſſaſſination of the virtuous duke of Gloceſter; by this crime the reigning family ſuffered a double prejudice; it was deprived of its firmeſt ſupport, and it was loaded with the infamy of that barbarous murder.

The earl of Suffolk was known to have had an active hand in the crime, and the murmurs which roſe againſt him as a miniſter, and favourite of the queen, were augmented by it. The neceſſities of the crown, for Henry had accumulated a debt of 372,000 l. had impelled him to many arbitrary meaſures; and the commons, provoked by his imprudence, and challenging an enquiry into his conduct, ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the houſe of peers. They accuſed him of aſpiring to place his own ſon on the throne, of having occaſioned the loſs of Normandy and Guienne, and of having ceded Maine to Charles of Anjou, without ſufficient powers; but as they were conſcious

theſe

theſe charges would not bear a ſtrict ſcrutiny, they arraigned him for having obtained exorbitant grants from the crown, and having embezzled the public money. As Suffolk ſeems to have been a bad man and a bad miniſter, it is probable many of theſe circumſtances could be proved againſt him. The court was alarmed at the proſecution, and an expedient was fallen upon to ſave him from preſent ruin. The king ſummoned all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, to his apartment: the priſoner was produced before them, and aſked what he could ſay in his own defence? He denied the charge; but ſubmitted to the king's mercy: Henry expreſſed himſelf not ſatisfied with regard to the firſt impeachment for treaſon; but in conſideration of the ſecond, for miſdemeanors, he declared, that, by virtue of Suffolk's own ſubmiſſion, not by any judicial authority, he baniſhed him the kingdom during five years. The lords remained ſilent; but as ſoon as they returned to their own houſe, they entered a proteſt, that his ſentence ſhould nowiſe infringe their privileges; and that, if Suffolk had inſiſted upon his right, and had not voluntarily ſubmitted to the king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his peers in parliament.

It was eaſy to ſee, that theſe irregular proceedings were meant to favour Suffolk, and that, as he ſtill poſſeſſed the queen's confidence, he would, on the firſt favourable opportunity, be reſtored to his country, and be reinſtated in his former power and credit. A captain of a veſſel was therefore employed by his enemies to intercept him in his paſſage to France: he was ſeized near Dover; his head ſtruck off on the ſide of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the ſea. No enquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

The duke of Somerſet ſucceeded to Suffolk's power in the miniſtry, and credit with the queen; and as he was the perſon under whoſe government the French provinces had been loſt, the public, who always judge by the event, ſoon made him equally the object of their

their animoſity and hatred. The duke of York was abſent in Ireland during all theſe tranſactions; and however it might be ſuſpected that his partiſans had excited and ſupported the proſecution againſt Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie againſt him. But there happened, ſoon after, an incident which rouſed the jealouſy of the court, and diſcovered to them the extreme danger to which they were expoſed from the pretenſions of that popular prince.

The humours of the people, ſet afloat by the parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of ſo great a favourite as Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were ſoon ſuppreſſed; but there aroſe one in Kent, which was attended with more dangerous conſequences. A man of low condition, one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, obſerved, on his return to England, the diſcontents of the people; and he laid on them the foundation of projects which were at firſt crowned with ſurpriſing ſucceſs. He took the name of John Mortimer; intending, as is ſuppoſed, to paſs himſelf for a ſon of that ſir John Mortimer who had been ſentenced to death by parliament, and executed, in the beginning of this reign, without any trial or evidence, merely upon an indictment of high treaſon given in againſt him. On the firſt mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of 20,000, flocked to Cade's ſtandard, and he excited their zeal by publiſhing complaints againſt the numerous abuſes in government, and demanding a redreſs of grievances. The court, not yet fully ſenſible of the danger, ſent a ſmall force againſt the rioters, under the command of ſir Humphrey Stafford, who was defeated and ſlain in an action near Sevenoke; and Cade, advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though elated by his victory, he ſtill maintained the appearance of moderation; and ſending to the court a plauſible liſt of grievances, he promiſed, that when theſe ſhould be redreſſed, and

when

when lord Say the treaſurer, and Cromer ſheriff of Kent, ſhould be puniſhed for their malverſations, he would immediately lay down his arms. The council, who obſerved that nobody was willing to fight againſt men ſo reaſonable in their pretenſions, carried the king, for preſent ſafety, to Kenilworth; and the city immediately opened its gates to Cade, who maintained, during ſome time, great order and diſcipline among his followers. He always led them into the field during the night-time; and publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt plunder and violence of every kind: but being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence againſt Say and Cromer, to put theſe men to death without a legal trial, he found that, after the commiſſion of this crime, he was no longer maſter of their riotous diſpoſition, and that all his orders were neglected. They broke into a rich houſe, which they plundered; and the citizens alarmed by this act by violence, ſhut theirgates againſt them; and, being ſeconded by a detachment of ſoldiers, ſent them by lord Scales, governor of the tower, they repulſed the rebels with great ſlaughter. The Kentiſhmen were ſo diſcouraged by the blow, that upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated towards Rocheſter, and there diſperſed. The pardon was ſoon after annulled, as extorted by violence: a price was ſet on Cade's head, who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Suſſex; and many of his followers were capitally puniſhed for their rebellion.

It was imagined by the court that the duke of York had ſecretly inſtigated Cade to this attempt, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the people towards his title and family; at the ſame time fearing he meant to return from Ireland with an armed force, they iſſued orders debarring him entrance into England. The duke refuted his enemies, by landing with only his ordinary retinue; but their precautions convinced him of what he had to dread from their jealouſy: he now ſaw the impoſſibility of remaining in his preſent ſituation, and the neceſſity of proceeding forwards in ſupport of his

his claim; and his partiſans therefore were inſtructed to maintain his right by ſucceſſion, and by the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of the kingdom.

In favour of the reigning family it was urged, that if their eſtabliſhment was at firſt invalid, it had acquired ſolidity by time. That the right of ſucceſſion was a rule admitted only for general good, and could never be pleaded to the overthrow of national tranquillity; that the principles of liberty, no leſs than the maxims of internal peace, were injured by the pretenſions of the Houſe of York; and if ſo many reiterated acts of legiſlature were now invalidated, the Engliſh muſt be conſidered not a free people who could diſpoſe of their own government, but as a troop of ſlaves who were implicitly tranſmitted from one maſter to another.

On the other hand, the Houſe of York aſſerted, that it would be happy indeed for uſurpers if their preſent poſſeſſion of power, or their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes. That the maintenance of order in the ſucceſſion, far from doing injury to the people, or invalidating their title to good government, only ſerved to prevent thoſe numberleſs confuſions which muſt enſue if no rule was followed but that of preſent advantage. That the diſpoſition of Richard II. and the advancement of Henry IV. were not deliberate national acts, but the reſult of the levity and violence of the people; that the ſubſequent entails of the crown were the continuance of the ſame violence and uſurpation; and that the reſtoration of the true order of ſucceſſion could not be conſidered as a change which familiariſed the people to revolutions; but as the correction of a former abuſe, which had itſelf encouraged the giddy ſpirit of innovation, rebellion, and diſobedience.

Such were the principal arguments uſed on both ſides of this intereſting queſtion; and the people were, according to the doubtful nature of them, divided in their ſentiments. The earl of Courtney and the duke of Norfolk eſpouſed the part of the duke of York; but the earl of Northumberland adhered to the pre-

ſent government; and the earl of Weſtmoreland, though the head of the Nevil family, was prevailed on to ſupport the cauſe of Henry.

The diſpoſition which appeared in a parliament aſſembled ſoon after the arrival of the duke of York from Ireland, increaſed the expectations of his partiſans. The commons ventured to preſent a petition againſt the duke of Somerſet, lord Dudley, ſir John Sutton, and ſeveral others of inferior rank, praying the king to remove them for ever from his perſon and councils. This was a violent attack, and ſupported but by few precedents; yet the king durſt not openly oppoſe it. He replied, that except the lords, he would baniſh all the others from court during a year; but at the ſame time he rejected a bill which had paſſed both houſes for attainting the late duke of Suffolk, and which diſcovered a general prejudice againſt the meaſures of the court.

The duke of York, truſting to theſe ſymptoms, raiſed an army of 10,000 men, with which he marched towards London, demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerſet from all power and authority. He unexpectedly found the gates of the city ſhut againſt him; and, on his retreating into Kent, he was followed by the king, at the head of a ſuperior army; in which ſeveral of Richard's friends, particularly Saliſbury and Warwic, appeared; probably with a view of mediating between the parties, and of ſeconding, on occaſion, the duke of York's pretenſions. A parley enſued. Richard ſtill inſiſted upon the removal of Somerſet, and of his ſubmitting to a trial in parliament: the court pretended to comply with his demand; and that nobleman was put in arreſt: the duke of York was then perſuaded to pay his reſpects to the king in his tent; and, on repeating his charge againſt the duke of Somerſet, he was ſurpriſed to ſee that miniſter ſtep from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his innocence. Richard now found that he had been betrayed; that he was in the hands of his enemies; and that it was become ne-

ceſſary, for his own ſafety, to lower his pretenſions. No violence, however, was attempted againſt him: the nation was not in a diſpoſition to bear the deſtruction of ſo popular a prince: he had many friends in Henry's camp: and his ſon, who was not in the power of the court, might ſtill be able to revenge his death on all his enemies: he was therefore diſmiſſed; and he retired to his ſeat of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.

While the duke of York lived in this retreat, there happened an incident, which, by encreaſing the public diſcontents, proved favourable to his pretenſions. Several Gaſcon lords, affectionate to the Engliſh government, and diſguſted at the new dominion of the French, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry. The earl of Shrewſbury, with a body of 8000 men, was ſent over to ſupport them. Bourdeaux opened its gates to him: he made himſelf maſter of Fronſac, Caſtillon, and ſome other places: affairs began to wear a favourable aſpect: but, as Charles haſtened to reſiſt this dangerous invaſion, the fortunes of the Engliſh were ſoon reverſed: Shrewſbury, a venerable warrior, above fourſcore years of age, fell in battle; his conqueſts were loſt; Bourdeaux was again obliged to ſubmit to the French king; and all hopes of recovering the province of Gaſcony were for ever extinguiſhed.

Though the Engliſh might deem themſelves happy to be fairly rid of diſtant dominions which were of no uſe to them, and which they never could defend againſt the growing power of France, they expreſſed great diſcontent on the occaſion; and they threw all the blame on the miniſtry, who had not been able to effect impoſſibilities. While they were in this diſpoſition, the queen's delivery of a ſon, who received the name of Edward, was deemed no joyful incident; and as it removed all hopes of the peaceable ſucceſſion of the duke of York, who was, otherwiſe, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Lancaſter, next heir to the crown, it

had rather a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. But the duke was incapable of violent counſels; and even when no viſible obſtacle lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own ſcruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exerciſe the government, fell at this time into a diſtemper, which ſo far encreaſed his natural imbecility, that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, deſtitute of this ſupport, found themſelves unable to reſiſt the York party; and they were obliged to yield to the torrent. They ſent Somerſet to the tower; and appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a ſeſſion of parliament. That aſſembly alſo, taking into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, created him protector during pleaſure. Men who thus entruſted ſovereign authority to one that had ſuch evident and ſtrong pretenſions to the crown, were not ſurely averſe to his taking immediate and full poſſeſſion of it: yet the duke, inſtead of puſhing them to make farther conceſſions, appeared ſomewhat timid and irreſolute, even in receiving the power which was tendered to him. He deſired that it might be recorded in parliament, that this authority was conferred on him from their own free motion, without any application on his own part: he expreſſed his hopes that they would aſſiſt him in the exerciſe of it: he made it a condition of his acceptance, that the other lords, who were appointed to be of his council, ſhould alſo accept of the truſt, and ſhould exerciſe it: and he required that all the powers of his office ſhould be ſpecified and defined by act of parliament. This moderation of Richard was certainly very unuſual and very amiable; yet was it attended with bad conſequences in the preſent juncture, and, by giving time to the animoſities of faction to riſe and ferment, it proved the ſource of all thoſe furious wars and commotions which enſued.

The enemies of the duke of York ſoon found it in their power to make advantage of his exceſſive caution.

tion. Henry being ſo far recovered from his diſtemper as to carry the appearance of exerciſing the royal power, they moved him to reſume his authority, to annul the protectorſhip of the duke, to releaſe Somerſet from the tower, and to commit the adminiſtration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, ſenſible of the dangers which might attend his former acceptance of the parliamentary commiſſion, ſhould he ſubmit to the annulling of it, levied an army; but ſtill without advancing any pretenſions to the crown. He complained only of the king's miniſters, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Alban's, in which the Yorkiſts were ſuperior, and, without ſuffering any material loſs, ſlew about 5000 of their enemies; among whom were the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Buckingham, lord Clifford, and many other perſons of diſtinction. The king himſelf fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great reſpect and tenderneſs: he was only obliged (which he regarded as no hardſhip) to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival.

This was the firſt blood ſpilt in that fatal quarrel, which laſted during thirty years, and which is computed to have coſt the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almoſt entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the laſt extremities: the vigour of queen Margaret proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, who was checked by his irreſolute temper. The parliament, though they granted him the protectorſhip, renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and the only deciſive act they paſſed, was a full reſumption of all the grants which had been made ſince the death of Henry V.

It was not difficult to wreſt power from hands ſo little tenacious as thoſe of the duke of York: Margaret availing herſelf of that prince's abſence, and of rather a better ſtate of health in Henry, produced the

latter before the houſe of lords, where he declared his intention of reſuming the government; to this meaſure the houſe of lords aſſented; and the king was reinſtated in his authority without any oppoſition from the duke of York.

An outward reconciliation was procured by the means of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, between the rival factions; but it was impoſſible to reſtore truſt and confidence; one of the king's retinue inſulted one of the earl of Warwic's; their companions on both ſides took part in the quarrel; a fierce combat enſued; the earl apprehending his life to be aimed at, fled to Calais; the government of which gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England; and both parties in every county made preparations for deciding the conteſt by war and arms.

The earl of Saliſbury, marching to join the duke of York, was overtaken at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, by lord Audley, who commanded much ſuperior forces. A ſmall rivulet with ſteep banks ran between the armies. Saliſbury here ſupplied his defect in numbers by ſtratagem; a refinement, of which there occur few inſtances in the Engliſh civil wars, where a headlong courage, more than military conduct, is commonly to be remarked. He feigned a retreat, and allured Audley to follow him with precipitation; but when the van of the royal army had paſſed the brook, Saliſbury ſuddenly turned upon them; and partly by the ſurpriſe, partly by the diviſion of the enemies' forces, put this body to rout; the example of flight was followed by the reſt of the army: and Saliſbury, obtaining a compleat victory, reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkiſts at Ludlow.

The earl of Warwic brought over to this rendezvous a choice body of veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but this reinforcement occaſioned, in the iſſue, the immediate ruin of the duke of York's party. When the royal army approached, and a general action

tion was every hour expected, ſir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deſerted to the king in the night-time; and the Yorkiſts were ſo diſmayed at this inſtance of treachery, which made every man ſuſpicious of his fellow, that they ſeparated next day, without ſtriking a ſtroke: the duke fled to Ireland: the earl of Warwic, attended by many of the other leaders, eſcaped to Calais; where his great popularity among all orders of men, particularly among the military, ſoon drew to him partiſans, and rendered his power very formidable. The friends of the houſe of York, in England, kept themſelves every where in readineſs to riſe on the firſt ſummons from their leaders.

After meeting with ſome ſucceſſes at ſea, Warwic landed in Kent, with the earl of Saliſbury, and the earl of Marche, eldeſt ſon of the duke of York; and being met by the primate, by lord Cobham, and other perſons of diſtinction, he marched, amidſt the acclamations of the people, to London. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and his troops encreaſing on every day's march, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to face the royal army, which haſtened from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought at Northampton; and was ſoon decided againſt the royaliſts by the infidelity of lord Grey of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deſerted to the enemy during the heat of action, and ſpread a conſternation through the troops. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and ſir William Lucie, were killed in the action or purſuit: the ſlaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility: the common people were ſpared by orders of the earls of Warwic and Marche. Henry himſelf, that empty ſhadow of a king, was again taken priſoner; and as the innocence and ſimplicity of his manners, which bore the appearance of ſanctity, had procured him the tender regard of the people, the earl of Warwic and the other leaders took care to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their reſpectful demeanour towards him.

A parliament was ſummoned in the king's name at Weſtminſter, where the duke ſoon after appeared from Ireland. He advanced towards the throne, and being met by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who aſked him, Whether he had not paid his reſpects to the king? he replied, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. He then ſtated to the houſe of peers his own claim; exhorted them to do juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſion; and pleaded his cauſe before them as his lawful judges. This moderate manner of demanding a crown intimidated his friends, and encouraged his enemies. The lords remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe; they at length declared in favour of the claim of the duke of York; but they determined that Henry ſhould continue to poſſeſs the dignity during the remainder of his life; that the adminiſtration of the country ſhould in the mean while remain with Richard; and that he ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. In this deciſion the duke acquieſced; and Henry, had he even been at liberty, would not probably have felt any ſuch reluctance to it.

But the ſentiments of the high-ſpirited Margaret were far different, and ſhe reſolved to aſſert in arms the rights of her family. After the battle of Northampton, ſhe had fled to the North, where her affability, inſinuation, and addreſs, among the northern barons, collected her an army twenty thouſand ſtrong, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends, nor apprehended by her enemies.

The duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, haſtened thither with a body of 5000 men, to ſuppreſs, as he imagined, the beginnings of an inſurrection; when, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himſelf ſo much outnumbered by the enemy; he threw himſelf into Sandal caſtle, which was ſituated in the neighbourhood; and he was adviſed by the earl of Saliſbury and other prudent counſellors, to remain in that fortreſs, till his ſon, the earl of Marche, who was levying forces on the borders of Wales, could advance

advance to his aſſiſtance. But the duke, though deficient in political courage, poſſeſſed perſonal bravery in an eminent degree; and notwithſtanding his wiſdom and experience, he thought that he ſhould be for ever diſgraced, if by taking ſhelter behind walls, he ſhould for a moment reſign the victory to a woman. He deſcended into the plain, and offered battle to the enemy, which was inſtantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was ſufficient alone to decide the victory; but the queen, by ſending a detachment, who fell on the back of the duke's army, rendered her advantage ſtill more certain and undiſputed. The duke himſelf was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the ſlain, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in deriſion of his pretended title. His ſon, the earl of Rutland, a youth of ſeventeen, was brought to lord Clifford; and that barbarian, in revenge of his father's death, who had periſhed in the battle of St. Alban's, murdered in cool blood, and with his own hands, this innocent prince, whoſe exterior figure, as well as other accompliſhments, are repreſented by hiſtorians as extremely amiable. The earl of Saliſbury was wounded and taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, by martial law, at Pomfret. There fell near three thouſand Yorkiſts in this battle: the duke himſelf was greatly and juſtly lamented by his own party; a prince who merited a better fate, and whoſe errors in conduct proceeded entirely from ſuch qualities, as render him the more an object of eſteem and affection. He periſhed in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She ſent the ſmaller diviſion, under Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half brother to the king, againſt Edward, the new duke of York. She herſelf marched with the larger diviſion towards London,

don, where the earl of Warwic had been left with the command of the Yorkiſts. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Croſs in Herefordſhire, the loſs of near 4000 men: his army was diſperſed; he himſelf eſcaped by flight; but his father ſir Owen Tudor, was taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. This barbarous practice, being once begun, was continued by both parties, from a ſpirit of revenge, which covered itſelf under the pretence of retaliation.

Margaret compenſated this defeat by a victory which ſhe obtained over the earl of Warwic; that nobleman, reinforced by a ſtrong body of Londoners, who were affectionate to his cauſe, gave battle to the queen at St. Albans: but while the armies were engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable body of Yorkiſts, withdrew from the combat: this treachery decided the day in favour of the queen. About 2300 of the vanquiſhed, periſhed in the battle and purſuit; and the perſon of the king fell again into the hands of their own party.

The queen made no great advantage of her victory; young Edward advanced upon her from the other ſide; and collecting the remains of Warwic's army was ſoon in a condition to give her battle with ſuperior forces. Senſible of her danger, ſhe found it neceſſary to retreat towards the North; and Edward entered the capital amidſt the acclamations of the citizens. He determined to avail himſelf of his popularity, and to aſſume the name and dignity of king. Inſtead of ſummoning a parliament to obtain the national conſent, he proceeded in a more ſummary, but leſs regular manner. His army was ordered to aſſemble in St. John's Fields; great numbers of people ſurrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, ſetting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of the rival family; and the people were then aſked, Whether they would have Henry of Lancaſter for king? They unanimouſly exclaimed againſt the propoſal.

poſal. It was then demanded, Whether they would accept of Edward, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of York? They expreſſed their aſſent by loud and joyful acclamations. A great number of biſhops, lords, magiſtrates, and other perſons of diſtinction, were next aſſembled at Baynard's caſtle, who ratified the popular election; and the new king was on the ſubſequent day proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward IV.

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI. a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the moſt ſplendid proſpects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the ſource of civil wars; but was almoſt entirely indifferent to Henry himſelf, who was utterly incapable of exerciſing his authority, and who, provided he perſonally met with good uſage, was equally eaſy, as he was equally enſlaved in the hands of his enemies and of his friends. His weakneſs and his diſputed title were the chief cauſes of the public calamities: but whether his queen, and his miniſters, were not alſo guilty of ſome great abuſes of power, is not eaſy for us at this diſtance of time to determine: there remain no proofs on record of any conſiderable violation of the laws, except in the aſſaſſination of the duke of Gloceſter, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was but too much of a piece with the uſual ferocity and cruelty of the times.

The moſt remarkable law which paſſed in this reign, was for the election of county members. After the fall of the feudal ſyſtem, the diſtinction of tenures was in ſome meaſure loſt, and every freeholder was, by degrees, admitted to give his vote; this innovation was the occaſion of great diſorder; and in the eighth and tenth of Henry the Sixth, laws were enacted which limited the electors to ſuch as poſſeſſed forty ſhillings a year in land, free from all burdens; a ſum equivalent to near twenty pounds of our preſent money.

The

The firſt inſtance of debt contracted upon parliament ſecurity occurs alſo in this reign; the commencement of this pernicious practice deſerves to be noticed; a practice the more likely to become pernicious the more a nation advances in opulence and credit.

Whatever might be the imputation on the laſt reign, the new one commenced not under more happy auſpices. The peaceful form of Edward the Fourth concealed an heart hardened againſt the emotions of compaſſion. A tradeſman of London, who kept a ſhop at the ſign of the Crown, having ſaid that he would make his ſon heir to the crown, this pleaſantry was interpreted into a deriſion of Edward's title; and he was condemned and executed for the offence; ſuch acts of tyranny were proper preludes to the events which enſued; and the ſcaffold, as well as the field, inceſſantly ſtreamed with the nobleſt blood of England. From long animoſity, the contending families were become implacable; the partiſans of the houſe of Lancaſter choſe the red roſe as their mark of diſtinction; thoſe of York were denominated from the white; and theſe civil wars were thus known over Europe by the name of the quarrel between the two roſes.

After her retreat from the capital, Margaret had collected in Yorkſhire an army of 60,000 ſtrong; and the king and the earl of Warwic haſtened with 40,000 men to check her progreſs. In a ſkirmiſh for the paſſage of the river Ayre, the Yorkiſts were chaſed back with great ſlaughter; and lord Fitzwalter, who commanded them, was ſlain in the action: the earl of Warwic dreading the conſequence of this diſaſter, at a time when a deciſive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horſe to be brought him, which he ſtabbed before the whole army; and, kiſſing the hilt of his ſword, ſwore that he was determined to ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier. And, to ſhew the greater ſecurity, a proclamation was at that time iſſued, giving to every one full liberty to retire; but menacing the ſevereſt puniſhment to thoſe who ſhould

diſcover any ſymptoms of cowardice in the enſuing battle. Lord Falconberg was ſent to recover the poſt which had been loſt: he paſſed the river ſome miles above Ferrybridge, and, falling unexpectedly on lord Clifford, revenged the former diſaſter by the defeat of the party and the death of their leader.

The hoſtile armies met at Touton; and a fierce and bloody battle enſued. While the Yorkiſts were advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of ſnow, which driving full in the faces of their enemies blinded them; and this advantage was improved by a ſtratagem of lord Falconberg's. That nobleman ordered ſome infantry to advance before the line, and, after having ſent a volley of flight arrows, as they were called, amidſt the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancaſtrians, imagining they were gotten within reach of the oppoſite army, diſcharged all their arrows, which thus fell ſhort of the Yorkiſts. After the quivers of the enemy were emptied, Edward advanced his line, and did execution with impunity on the diſmayed Lancaſtrians. The bow, however, was ſoon laid aſide, and the ſword decided the combat, which ended in a total victory on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter. The routed army was purſued to Tadcaſter with great bloodſhed and confuſion; and above 36,000 men are computed to have fallen in the battle and purſuit: among theſe were the earl of Weſtmoreland and his brother, ſir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Wells, and ſir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonſhire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a priſoner to Edward; and was, ſoon after, beheaded by martial law at York. His head was fixed on a pole erected over a gate of that city; and the head of duke Richard, and that of the earl of Saliſbury, were taken down, and buried with their bodies. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being ſenſible that no place in England could now afford them ſhelter, they fled with

with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's ſiſter, had taken part with the Lancaſtrians, and by Henry duke of Somerſet, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Touton, and who was the ſon of that nobleman killed in the firſt battle of St. Albans.

A. D. 1462, 1464. Scotland had never exerted itſelf with vigour to take advantage of the civil commotions of England: the preſent king James III. was a minor; and the regency was an object of contention between the queen-dowager and the family of Douglas. Margaret found Scotland little leſs diſtracted than England; but on her offering to the council to deliver to them immediately the important fortreſs of Berwic, and to contract her ſon in marriage with a ſiſter of king James, they promiſed the aſſiſtance of their arms to reinſtate her family on the throne.

As the danger from that quarter did not ſeem very urgent, Edward, inſtead of purſuing the fugitive king and queen, returned to London, where a parliament was ſummoned for ſettling the government. That aſſembly no longer heſitated between the two families; they recognized the title of Edward, they expreſſed their abhorrence of the uſurpation of the houſe of Lancaſter; and they paſſed an act of attainder againſt Henry and Margaret, againſt their infant ſon Edward, and ſeveral of their principal adherents.

But the new eſtabliſhment ſeemed ſtill precarious, not only from domeſtic diſcontents, but from the efforts of foreign powers. Lewis, the eleventh king of France of that name, was of an intriguing and politic genius; and to keep alive the flames of civil diſcord in England, on receiving a promiſe from Margaret to deliver up Calais, if her family ſhould be reſtored, he ſent a body of 2000 men at arms to the aſſiſtance of Henry. Theſe enabled Margaret to take the field; but, though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, and by many partizans of

of the family of Lancaſter, ſhe received a check at Hedgley-more from lord Montacute, or Montague, brother to the earl of Warwic, and warden of the eaſt marches between Scotland and England. Montague was ſo encouraged with this ſucceſs, that while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, yet he ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancaſtrians at Hexham, and he obtained a complete victory over them. The duke of Somerſet, the lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the purſuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexham. Summary juſtice was in like manner executed at Newcaſtle on ſir Humphrey Nevil and ſeveral other gentlemen. All thoſe who were ſpared in the field ſuffered on the ſcaffold; and the utter extermination of their adverſaries was now become the plain object of the York party; a conduct which received but too plauſible an apology from the preceding practice of the Lancaſtrians.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family after this defeat was ſingular. Margaret, flying with her ſon into a foreſt, where ſhe endeavoured to conceal herſelf, was beſet, during the darkneſs of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardleſs of her quality, deſpoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity. The partition of this rich booty raiſed a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, ſhe took the opportunity of making her eſcape with her ſon, into the thickeſt of the foreſt, where ſhe wandered for ſome time, overſpent with hunger and fatigue, and ſunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition, ſhe ſaw a robber approach with his naked ſword; and finding that ſhe had no means of eſcape, ſhe ſuddenly embraced the reſolution of truſting entirely for protection to his faith and generoſity. She advanced towards him; and preſenting to him the young prince, called out to him, *Here, my friend, I commit to your care the ſafety of your king's ſon.* The man, whoſe humanity and generous ſpirit had been obſcured, not entirely

entirely loſt by his vicious courſe of life, was ſtruck with the ſingularity of the event; was charmed with the confidence repoſed in him; and vowed, not only to abſtain from all injury againſt the princeſs, but to devote himſelf entirely to her ſervice. By his means ſhe dwelt ſome time concealed in the foreſt, and was at laſt conducted to the ſea-coaſt, whence ſhe made her eſcape into Flanders. She paſſed thence into her father's court, where ſhe lived ſeveral years in privacy and retirement. Her huſband was not ſo fortunate or ſo dexterous in finding the means of eſcape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancaſhire; where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at laſt detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower. The ſafety of his perſon was owing leſs to the generoſity of his enemies, than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and his underſtanding.

A. D. 1465, 1468. The impriſonment of Henry, the expulſion of Margaret, and the execution and confiſcation of all the moſt eminent Lancaſtrians, ſeemed to give full ſecurity to Edward's government. But the prince had no ſooner vanquiſhed his enemies than he delivered himſelf to the impulſe of his paſſions. His amorous temper led him into a ſnare which proved fatal to his repoſe. Elizabeth Grey was the daughter of the ducheſs of Bedford, by her ſecond marriage with ſir Richard Woodville, and was the widow of ſir John Grey of Groby, who had been ſlain in the ſecond battle of St. Albans, fighting on the ſide of Lancaſter. His eſtate had been confiſcated; and the widow ſeized the opportunity, when the king was on a viſit to the ducheſs of Bedford, to entreat his pity for her impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed children. The ſight of ſo much beauty in affliction ſtrongly affected the amorous Edward; and he was reduced in his turn, to the poſture of a ſupplicant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady was either averſe to diſhonourable love, or inflamed with ambition; and the

the careſſes and importunities of the young and amiable Edward proved fruitleſs againſt her rigid and inflexible virtue. His paſſion, ſtimulated by oppoſition, carried him beyond all bounds; and he offered to ſhare with her his heart as well as his throne. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton. The ſecret was carefully kept for ſome time: no one ſuſpected, that ſo libertine a prince could ſacrifice ſo much to a romantic paſſion: and there were in particular ſtrong reaſons, which at that time rendered this ſtep to the higheſt degree dangerous and imprudent.

The king, deſirous to ſecure his throne, as well by the proſpect of iſſue, as by foreign alliances, had, a little before, determined to make application to ſome neighbouring princeſs; and he had caſt his eye on Bona of Savoy, ſiſter of the queen of France, who, he hoped, would, by her marriage, enſure him the friendſhip of that power, which was alone both able and inclined to give ſupport and aſſiſtance to his rival. To render the negotiation more ſucceſsful, the earl of Warwic had been diſpatched to Paris, where the princeſs then reſided; he had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his propoſals had been accepted; the treaty was fully concluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princeſs to England. But when the ſecret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himſelf affronted, both by being employed in this fruitleſs negociation, and by being kept a ſtranger to the king's intentions, who had owed every thing to his friendſhip, immediately returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation. The influence of paſſion over ſo young a man as Edward might have ſerved as an excuſe for his imprudent conduct, had he deigned to acknowledge his error, or had pleaded his weakneſs as an apology: but his faulty ſhame or pride prevented him from ſo much as mentioning the matter to Warwic; and that nobleman was allowed to depart the court, full of the ſame ill-humour and diſcontent which he brought to it.

Every incident now tended to widen the breach between the king and this powerful ſubject. All preferments and honours were laviſhed on the queen's friends and relations. Warwic bore with impatience the diminution of his influence; and the nobility of England, envying the ſudden growth of the Woodvilles, partook in his diſcontent; but the moſt conſiderable aſſociate that he gained was George, duke of Clarence, the king's ſecond brother, who deemed himſelf injured by the uncontrouled power of the queen and her kindred. He was allured by the offer in marriage of the elder daughter of Warwic, who was co-heir to his immenſe fortunes, to join the party of that earl; thus an extenſive and dangerous combination was inſenſibly formed againſt Edward and his miniſtry; and though the immediate object of the malecontents was not to overthrow the throne, it was difficult to foreſee the extremities to which they might be carried.

A.D. 1469. 1470. To ſecure himſelf againſt his factious nobility, Edward entered into an alliance with Charles, ſurnamed the *Bold*, duke of Burgundy, whoſe rich demeſnes marked him as the proper perſon to oppoſe the dark and dangerous ambition of Lewis the Eleventh. Edward alſo formed a league with the duke of Britanny; but from theſe foreign negociations his intention was recalled by domeſtic inſurrection. The improper application of ſome part of the revenue of St. Leonard's hoſpital, near York, which had been deſtined for the relief of the poor, provoked the common people to riſe in arms; and being headed by ſir Henry Nevil, and ſir John Coniers, they became formidable to government. They defeated and put to death the earl of Pembroke; and they ſeized the earl of Rivers, the father of the queen, with his ſon John, and immediately executed them.

There is no part of Engliſh hiſtory ſince the conqueſt, ſo obſcure as the wars between the two roſes. All we can diſtinguiſh with certainty through the deep cloud which covers that period, is a ſcene of horror and

and bloodſhed, ſavage manners, arbitrary executions, and treacherous, diſhonourable conduct in all parties. There is no poſſibility, for inſtance, of accounting for the views and intentions of the earl of Warwic at this time. It is agreed that he reſided, together with his ſon-in-law the duke of Clarence, in his government of Calais, during the commencement of this rebellion; and that his brother Montague acted with vigour againſt the northern rebels. We may thence preſume, that the inſurrection had not proceeded from the ſecret counſels and inſtigation of Warwic; though the murder committed by the rebels on the earl of Rivers, his capital enemy, forms, on the other hand, a violent preſumption againſt him. He and Clarence came over to England, offered their ſervice to Edward, were received without any ſuſpicion, were entruſted by him in the higheſt commands, and ſtill perſevered in their fidelity. Soon after, we find the rebels quieted and diſperſed by a general pardon granted by Edward from the advice of the earl of Warwic: but why ſo courageous a prince, if ſecure of Warwic's fidelity, ſhould have granted a general pardon to men who had been guilty of ſuch violent and perſonal outrages againſt him, is not intelligible; nor why that nobleman, if unfaithful, ſhould have endeavoured to appeaſe a rebellion, of which he was able to make ſuch advantages. But it appears that, after this inſurrection, there was an interval of peace, during which the king loaded the family of Nevil with honours and favours of the higheſt nature: he made lord Montague a marquis by the ſame name: he created his ſon, George duke of Bedford: he publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his eldeſt daughter Elizabeth, who, as he had yet no ſons, was preſumptive heir of the crown: yet we find that ſoon after, being invited to a feaſt by the archbiſhop of York, a younger brother of Warwic and Montague, he entertained a ſudden ſuſpicion that they intended to ſeize his perſon or to murder him: and he abruptly left the entertainment.

Soon after, there broke out another rebellion, which

is as unaccountable as all the preceding events; chiefly becauſe no ſufficient reaſon is aſſigned for it, and becauſe, ſo far as it appears, the family of Nevil had no hand in exciting and fomenting it. It aroſe in Lincolnſhire, and was headed by ſir Robert Welles, ſon to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels amounted to 30,000 men; but lord Welles himſelf, far from giving countenance to them, fled into a ſanctuary, in order to ſecure his perſon againſt the king's anger or ſuſpicions. He was allured from this retreat by a promiſe of ſafety; and was ſoon after, notwithſtanding this aſſurance, beheaded along with ſir Thomas Dymoc, by orders from Edward. The king fought a battle with the rebels, defeated them, took ſir Robert Welles and ſir Thomas Launde priſoners, and ordered them immediately to be beheaded.

Edward, during theſe tranſactions, had entertained ſo little jealouſy of the earl of Warwic or duke of Clarence, that he ſent them with commiſſions of array to levy forces againſt the rebels: but theſe malecontents, as ſoon as they left the court, raiſed troops in their own name, iſſued declarations againſt the government, and complained of grievances, oppreſſions, and bad miniſters. The unexpected defeat of Welles diſconcerted all their meaſures; and they retired northwards into Lancaſhire, where they expected to be joined by lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwic's ſiſter. But as that nobleman refuſed all concurrence with them, and as lord Montague alſo remained quiet in Yorkſhire; they were obliged to diſband their army, and to fly into Devonſhire, where they embarked and made ſail towards Calais.

The deputy-governor, whom Warwic had left at Calais, was one Vaucler, a Gaſcon, who ſeeing him return in this miſerable condition, refuſed him admittance; he would not even permit the ducheſs of Clarence to land, though a few days before ſhe had been delivered on ſhip-board of a ſon, and was at that time much indiſpoſed. A little wine for the uſe of the ladies was all that he would ſuffer to be carried on board; but

but he ſecretly palliated his conduct to Warwic, by alledging that the fortreſs was ill ſupplied with proviſions, and that he could not rely on the obedience of the garriſon. The earl at leaſt affected to be convinced; and having ſeized ſome Flemiſh veſſels, he immediately made ſail towards France.

The king of France received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of regard, and jealous of the alliance between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, he hoped to make him his inſtrument for re-eſtabliſhing the houſe of Lancaſter. Nothing could exceed the animoſity which had prevailed between that houſe and the earl of Warwic. His father had been executed by orders from Margaret; he himſelf had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had baniſhed the queen, had put to death all their moſt zealous partiſans. But his preſent diſtreſſes and the entreaties of Lewis, made him hearken to terms of accommodation; and Margaret being ſent for from Angers, where ſhe then reſided, an agreement was from common intereſt ſoon concluded between them. It was ſtipulated, that Warwic ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of Henry, and endeavour to reſtore him to liberty, and to re-eſtabliſh him on the throne; that the adminiſtration of the government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon, ſhould be entruſted conjointly to the earl of Warwic and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward ſhould marry the lady Anne, ſecond daughter of that nobleman; and that the crown, in caſe of the failure of male iſſue in that prince, ſhould deſcend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire excluſion of king Edward and his poſterity. Never was confederacy, on all ſides, leſs natural, or more evidently the work of neceſſity: but Warwic hoped, that all former paſſions of the Lancaſtrians might be loſt in preſent political views; and that at worſt, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would ſuffice to give him ſecurity, and enable him to exact the full performance of all the conditions agreed on. The marriage of prince

Edward with the lady Anne was immediately celebrated in France.

Edward foreſaw that it would be eaſy to
A. D. 1470. diſſolve an alliance compoſed of ſuch diſcordant materials. He employed a lady in the train of the ducheſs of Clarence, to repreſent to the duke the imprudence of the connexion he had formed with the murderers of his father, and the implacable enemies of his family; Clarence was ſtruck with the danger of his ſituation; and on a promiſe of forgiveneſs, he ſecretly engaged to abandon the Lancaſtrian party.

During this negociation, Warwic was ſecretly carrying on a correſpondence of the ſame nature with his brother the marquis of Montague, who was entirely truſted with Edward; and like motives produced a like reſolution in that nobleman. Confiding in this promiſe of ſupport, Warwic availed himſelf of a ſtorm to croſs the channel with a body of French troops, and landed at Dartmouth, accompanied by the duke of Clarence.

Edward, always brave and active, had little foreſight. He had made no preparations for this event; and when warned by the duke of Burgundy of his danger, he had anſwered, he wiſhed for nothing more than to ſee Warwic on Engliſh ground. When that nobleman landed, the king was engaged in ſuppreſſing an inſurrection in the north. The prodigious popularity of Warwic, the zeal of the Lancaſtrian party, the ſpirit of diſcontent with which many were infected, and the general inſtability of the Engliſh nation, occaſioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew ſuch multitudes to his ſtandard, that in a very few days his army amounted to ſixty thouſand men, and was continually increaſing. Edward haſtened ſouthwards to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a deciſive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwic's progreſs had incapacitated the duke of Clarence from executing *his* plan of treachery; and the marquis of Montague had here the

oppor-

opportunity of ſtriking the firſt blow. He communicated the deſign to his adherents, who promiſed him their concurrence: they took to arms in the night-time, and haſtened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters: The king was alarmed at the noiſe, and ſtarting from bed, heard the cry of war uſually employed by the Lancaſtrian party. Lord Haſtings, his chamberlain, informed him of the danger, and urged him to make his eſcape by ſpeedy flight from an army where he had ſo many concealed enemies, and where few ſeemed zealouſly attached to his ſervice. He had juſt time to get on horſeback, and to hurry with a ſmall retinue to Lynne in Norfolk, where he luckily found ſome ſhips ready, on board of which he inſtantly embarked. And after this manner the earl of Warwic, in no longer ſpace than eleven days after his firſt landing, was left entire maſter of the kingdom.

But Edward's danger did not end with his embarkation. The Eaſterlings or Hanſe-Towns were then at war both with France and England; and ſome ſhips of theſe people, hovering on the Engliſh coaſt, eſpied the king's veſſels, and gave chaſe to them; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he made his eſcape into the port of Alcmaer in Holland. He had fled from England with ſuch precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward which he could beſtow on the captain of the veſſel that brought him over, was a robe lined with ſables, promiſing him an ample recompence if fortune ſhould ever become more propitious to him.

The duke of Burgundy was embarraſſed how to receive the dethroned monarch; he began already to ſay that his connexions were with the kingdom of England, not with the king. Vaucler, the deputy-governor of Calais, declared with great demonſtrations of joy for his old party; and every thing promiſed a full ſettlement of the Engliſh crown in the family of Lancaſter; Henry had been delivered from the Tower, and proclaimed king with great ſolemnity; every ſtatute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince

was declared to be an uſurper; and Margaret was preparing to paſs over into England to enjoy the return of proſperity, when a new revolution, not leſs ſudden than the former, threw her into greater miſery than that from which ſhe had juſt emerged.

A. D. 1471. The duke of Burgundy had reſolved to grant ſome aſſiſtance, though in a covert way, to his brother-in-law. He equipped four large veſſels, in the name of ſome private merchants, at Terveer in Zealand; and cauſing fourteen ſhips to be ſecretly hired from the Eaſterlings, he delivered this ſmall ſquadron to Edward, who, receiving alſo a ſum of money from the duke, immediately ſet ſail for England. No ſooner was Charles informed of his departure, than he iſſued a proclamation, inhibiting all his ſubjects from giving him countenance or aſſiſtance; an artifice which could not deceive the earl of Warwic, but which might ſerve as a decent pretence, if that nobleman were ſo diſpoſed, for maintaining friendſhip with the duke of Burgundy.

Edward, impatient to take revenge on his enemies, and to recover his loſt authority, made an attempt to land with his forces, which exceeded not 2000 men, on the coaſt of Norfolk; but being there repulſed, he ſailed northwards, and diſembarked at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. Finding that the new magiſtrates, who had been appointed by the earl of Warwic, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the houſe of York, which of right belonged to him; and that he did not intend to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. His partiſans every moment flocked to his ſtandard: he was admitted into the city of York: and he was ſoon in ſuch a ſituation as gave him hopes of ſucceeding in all his claims and pretenſions. The marquis of Montague commanded in the northern counties; but from ſome myſterious reaſons which, as well as many other important tranſactions in that age no hiſtorian has cleared up, he totally neglected the beginnings of an

inſurrection which he ought to have eſteemed ſo formidable. Warwic aſſembled an army at Leiceſter, with an intention of meeting and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, paſſed him unmoleſted, and preſented himſelf before the gates of London. He was readily admitted into a capital, the inhabitants of which ſtill dwelt with pleaſure on his former courteous and familiar demeanour; and Henry, deſtined to be the perpetual ſport of fortune, again fell into the hands of his enemies.

Warwic, without waiting the arrival of queen Margaret, being reinforced by his ſon-in-law Clarence, and his brother the marquis of Montague, took poſt at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. His brother Montague, who had lately temporiſed, ſeems now to have remained ſincerely attached to the intereſts of his family: but his ſon-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude, though he ſhared the power of the regency, though he had been inveſted by Warwic in all the honours and patrimony of the houſe of York, reſolved to fulfil the ſecret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to ſupport the intereſts of his own family: he deſerted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of 12,000 men along with him. Warwic was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with diſdain all terms of peace offered by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with obſtinacy on both ſides: the two armies, in imitation of their leaders, diſplayed uncommon valour: and the victory remained long undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance to the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward's cogniſance was a ſun; that of Warwic a ſtar with rays; and the miſtineſs of the morning rendering it difficult to diſtinguiſh them: the earl of Oxford, who fought on the ſide of the Lancaſtrians, was by miſtake attacked by his friends, and chaſed off the field of battle. Warwic, contrary to his more uſual practice, engaged that day on foot, reſolving to ſhow

his

his army that he meant to ſhare every fortune with them; and he was ſlain in the thickeſt of the engagement: his brother underwent the ſame fate: and as Edward had iſſued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter was made in the purſuit. There fell about 1500 on the ſide of the victors.

The ſame day on which this deciſive battle was fought, queen Margaret and her ſon, now about eighteen years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, ſupported by a ſmall body of French forces. When this princeſs received intelligence of her huſband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwic, her courage, which had ſupported her under ſo many diſaſtrous events, here quite left her; and ſhe immediately foreſaw all the diſmal conſequences of this calamity. At firſt ſhe took ſanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu; but being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor earl of Pembroke, and Courtney earl of Devonſhire, of the lords Wenloc and St. John, with other men of rank, who exhorted her ſtill to hope for ſucceſs, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to defend to the utmoſt the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Gloceſter, increaſing her army on each day's march; but was at laſt overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Teukeſbury, on the banks of the Severne. The Lancaſtrians were here totally defeated: the earl of Devonſhire and lord Wenloc were killed in the field: the duke of Somerſet, and about twenty other perſons of diſtinction, having taken ſhelter in a church, were ſurrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded: about 3000 of their ſide fell in battle; and the army was entirely diſperſed.

Queen Margaret and her ſon were taken priſoners, and brought to the king, who aſked the prince, after an inſulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his preſent fortune, replied, that he came thither

thither to claim his juſt inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, inſenſible to pity, ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloceſter, lord Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a ſignal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there diſpatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower: king Henry expired in that confinement a few days after the battle of Teukeſbury; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the duke of Gloceſter killed him with his own hands: but the univerſal odium which that prince has incurred, inclined perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without any ſufficient authority. It is certain, however, that Henry's death was ſudden; and though he laboured under an ill ſtate of health, this circumſtance, joined to the general manners of this age, gave a natural ground of ſuſpicion; which was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by the expoſing of his body to public view. That precaution ſerved only to recall many ſimilar inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory, and to ſuggeſt the compariſon.

Edward was now firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne; but this prince, ſo active in adverſity, was unable to reſiſt the allurements of proſperity; he devoted himſelf to pleaſure and amuſement; but he was rouſed from his lethargy by the proſpect of foreign conqueſts. He formed a league with the duke of Burgundy to invade France; for this purpoſe he obtained from parliament a tenth of rents, or two ſhillings in the pound; which muſt have been very inaccurately levied, ſince it produced only 31,460 pounds; and they added to this ſupply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another: but as the king deemed theſe ſums ſtill unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of *benevolence*; a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. had not been much practiſed in former times, and which, though the conſent of the parties was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed A. D. 1472, 1475.

deemed entirely voluntary. The clauſes annexed to the parliamentary grant ſhow ſufficiently the ſpirit of the nation in this reſpect. The money levied by the fifteenth was not to be put into the king's hands, but to be kept in religious houſes; and if the expedition into France ſhould not take place, it was immediately to be refunded to the people. After theſe grants the parliament was diſſolved, which had ſitten near two years and a half, and had undergone ſeveral prorogations; a practice not very uſual at that time in England.

A. D. 1475. The king paſſed over to Calais with an army of 1500 men at arms, and 15000 archers; but all his hopes of conqueſt were damped, by finding that the conſtable, St. Pol, on whoſe revolt he depended, neither received him into the towns of which he was maſter, nor did the duke of Burgundy bring him the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance; this circumſtance gave him great diſguſt, and inclined him to liſten to the pacific propoſals of Lewis.

That monarch, more ſwayed by political views than the point of honour, conſented to pay Edward 75,000 crowns, on condition that he ſhould immediately withdraw his army from France; and promiſed to pay him 50,000 crowns a year during their joint lives. It was added, that the dauphin, when of age, ſhould marry Edward's eldeſt daughter; and theſe articles were ratified in a perſonal interview which the two monarchs had at Pecquigni, near Amiens.

This treaty did very little honour to either party. It diſcovered the imprudence of Edward, who had taken his meaſures ſo ill, as to return without making any acquiſitions adequate to the expence; and it ſhewed the want of dignity in Lewis, who, rather than run the hazard of a battle, agreed to ſubject his kingdom to tribute.

The moſt honourable part of Lewis's conduct, was the ſtipulation for the liberty of Queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her huſband and ſon, ſhe could no longer be formidable to government,

was

was ſtill detained in cuſtody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom; and that princeſs, who had been ſo active on the ſtage of the world, and who had experienced ſuch a variety of fortune, paſſed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when ſhe died: an admirable princeſs, but more illuſtrious by her undaunted ſpirit in adverſity, than by her moderation in proſperity. She ſeems neither to have enjoyed the virtues, nor been ſubject to the weakneſſes, of her ſex; and was as much tainted with the ferocity as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which ſhe lived.

Though Edward had ſo little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he reſerved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigni: but Charles, when the offer was made him, haughtily replied, that he was able to ſupport himſelf without the aſſiſtance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after Edward's return into his own country. This prince poſſeſſed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror; but being defective in policy and prudence, qualities no leſs eſſential, he was unfortunate in all his enterpriſes, and periſhed at laſt in battle againſt the Swiſs; a people whom he deſpiſed, and who, though brave and free, had hitherto been in a manner overlooked in the general ſyſtem of Europe. This event, which happened in 1477, opened new views to Lewis. As Charles left only one daughter, Mary, the heir of his dominions, the king of France might have obtained this match for the dauphin, and thus have united to the crown all the provinces of the Low Countries, with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy. But ſuch was his hatred to the houſe of Burgundy, that he preferred the precarious chance of war: he conquered the duchy of Burgundy, and part of Picardy; but by this attack he diſguſted the ſtates of the Netherlands, who beſtowed their ſovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Auſtria, ſon of the emperor Frederic.

During

A. D. 1476. 1478. During this intereſting criſis, Edward had abandoned himſelf to indolence and pleaſure, from which he ſeemed only to awake to exerciſe an act of tyranny on his own family. The duke of Clarence, by all his ſervices in deſerting Warwic, had never been able to regain the king's friendſhip. He was alſo an object of diſpleaſure to the queen, as well as to his brother the duke of Gloceſter, a prince of the deepeſt policy, and the moſt unrelenting ambition. The execution of ſeveral of his friends on the moſt trivial offences, warned him of the combination againſt him; but inſtead of ſecuring his life by ſilence and reſerve, he was open and loud in his reſentment: The king, highly offended with his freedom, or uſing that pretence againſt him, committed him to the Tower, ſummoned a parliament, and tried him for his life before the houſe of peers, the ſupreme tribunal of the nation.

The duke was accuſed of arraigning public juſtice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature; and of inveighing againſt the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their proſecution. Many raſh expreſſions were imputed to him, and ſome too reflecting on Edward's legitimacy; but he was not accuſed of any over act of treaſon; and even the truth of theſe ſpeeches may be doubted of, ſince the liberty of judgment was taken from the court, by the king's appearing perſonally as his brother's accuſer, and pleading the cauſe againſt him. But a ſentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumſtance had not place, was a neceſſary conſequence in thoſe times, of any proſecution by the court or the prevailing party; and the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the peers. The houſe of commons were no leſs ſaviſh and unjuſt: they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards paſſed a bill of attainder againſt him. The meaſures of the parliament during that age, furniſh us with examples of a ſtrange contraſt of freedom and ſervility: they ſcruple to grant, and ſometimes refuſe,

refuſe, to the king, the ſmalleſt ſupplies, the moſt neceſſary for the ſupport of government, even the moſt neceſſary for the maintenance of wars, for which the nation, as well as the parliament itſelf, expreſſed great fondneſs: but they never ſcruple to concur in the moſt flagrant act of injuſtice or tyranny which falls on any individual, however diſtinguiſhed by birth or merit.

The only favour which the king granted his brother, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmeſey in the Tower: a whimſical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary paſſion for that liquor. The duke left two children by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwic; a ſon, created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury. Both this prince and princeſs were alſo unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death; a fate which for many years attended almoſt all the deſcendants of the royal blood in England. There prevails a report, that a chief ſource of the violent proſecution of the duke of Clarence, whoſe name was George, was a current prophecy, that the king's ſon ſhould be murdered by one, the initial letter of whoſe name was G. It is not impoſſible but, in thoſe ignorant times, ſuch a ſilly reaſon might have ſome influence: but it is more probable that the whole ſtory is the invention of a ſubſequent period, and founded on the murder of theſe children by the duke of Gloceſter.

All the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars. His ſpirit ſeems afterwards to have ſunk in indolence and pleaſure. There was no object on which he was more intent than to have his daughters ſettled in ſplendid marriages; but moſt of theſe princeſſes were yet in their infancy, and numberleſs accidents fruſtrated his views. His eldeſt daughter Elizabeth was contracted to the dauphin; but Lewis, who paid no regard to treaties, found his advantage in affiancing the dauphin to the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Maximilian. Edward, notwithſtanding his indo-

lence, prepared to avenge the indignity; the French monarch, to avoid the blow, by a proper diſtribution of preſents in the court of Scotland, incited James to make war upon England. This prince, who lived on bad terms with his own nobility, and whoſe force was very unequal to the enterpriſe, levied an army; but when he was ready to enter England, the barons, conſpiring againſt his favourites, put them to death without trial; and the army preſently diſbanded. The duke of Gloceſter, attended by the duke of Albany, James's brother, who had been baniſhed his country, entered Scotland at the head of an army, took Berwic, and obliged the Scots to accept of a peace, by which they reſigned that fortreſs to Edward. This ſucceſs emboldened the king to think more ſeriouſly of a French war; but while he was making preparations for that enterpriſe, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he expired in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign: a prince more ſplendid and ſhowy, than either prudent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleaſure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; and leſs fitted to prevent ills by wiſe precautions, than to remedy them after they took place, by his vigour and enterpriſe. Beſides five daughters, this king left two ſons: Edward prince of Wales, his ſucceſſor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ninth.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

Edward V.—Duke of Gloceſter protector.—Aſſumes the crown.—Murder of Edward V. and of the duke of York.—Richard III.—Invaſion by the earl of Richmond.—Battle of Boſworth.—Death and character of Richard III.—Acceſſion of Henry VII.—Sweating ſickneſs.—King's marriage.—Lambert Simnel.—Revolt of Ireland.—Intrigues of the dutcheſs of Burgundy.—Lambert Simnel invades England.—Battle of Stoke.—State of foreign affairs.—War with France.—Peace with France.—Perkin Warbec.—He is avowed by the dutcheſs of Burgundy.—Trial and execution of Stanley.—Perkin retires to Scotland.—Inſurrection in the Weſt.—Battle of Blackheath.—Fate of Perkin.—Oppreſſions of the people.—Sickneſs of the king.—His death and character.

ON the death of Edward, new intrigues aroſe from the rivalſhip of two parties, the firſt conſiſting of the queen and her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers her brother, and the marquis of Dorſet her ſon; the laſt compoſed of the ancient nobility, at the head of whom was the duke of Buckingham, a man of illuſtrious deſcent, ſhining parts, and extenſive property. Lord Haſtings the chamberlain, was another leader of the ſame party; and the lords Howard and Stanley maintained a connection with theſe two noblemen, and brought to them a conſiderable acceſſion of influence and reputation. A.D. 1483.

Edward, by his laſt words, had entruſted the regency to his brother the duke of Glouceſter, then abſent in the North, and he had ineffectually exhorted the rival nobles to live in peace and unanimity during the tender years of his ſon: he had no ſooner expired

than their jealouſies broke out; and all were anxious to conciliate the favour of the duke of Gloceſter.

That prince, whoſe ambition was unbounded, as his conſcience was unreſtrained, already aſpired to the throne. He was ſenſible the moſt profound diſſimulation was neceſſary for effecting his criminal purpoſes; by his profeſſions of attachment he gained credit with the queen, and prevailed on her to countermand the order which ſhe had iſſued to her brother, the earl of Rivers, to levy an army; and to direct him to bring up the young prince from the caſtle of Ludlow to London, with only his ordinary retinue.

The duke of Gloceſter mean while ſet out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton, he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was alſo attended by a ſplendid retinue; and as he heard that the king was hourly expected on that road, he reſolved to wait his arrival, under colour of conducting him thence in perſon to London. The earl of Rivers, apprehenſive that the place would be too narrow to contain ſo many attendants, ſent his pupil forward by another road to Stony Stratford; and came himſelf to Northampton, in order to apologiſe for this meaſure, and to pay his reſpects to the duke of Gloceſter. He was received with the greateſt appearance of cordiality: he paſſed the evening in an amicable manner with Gloceſter and Buckingham: he proceeded on the road with them next day to join the king: but as he was entering Stony-Stratford, he was arreſted by orders from the duke of Gloceſter: ſir Richard Gray, one of the queen's ſons, was at the ſame time put under a guard, together with ſir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable office in the king's houſehold; and all the priſoners were inſtantly conducted to Pomfret. Gloceſter approached the young prince with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect; and endeavoured to ſatisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother: but Edward, much attached

to

to theſe near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not ſuch a matter of diſſimulation as to conceal his diſpleaſure.

On the intelligence of this revolution, the queen fled to the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, attended by the marquis of Dorſet; and ſhe carried thither the five princeſſes, together with the duke of York. But Glouceſter, anxious to have the duke of York in his power, made uſe of the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, who, perſuaded of the good intentions of the regent, prevailed on the queen to deliver up the prince that he might be preſent at the inauguration of his brother. Yet ſhe complied not without extreme reluctance; and when ſhe parted from him, ſhe ſeemed ſtruck with a kind of preſage of his future fate. She tenderly embraced him, and bedewing him with her tears, bade him an eternal adieu.

The council, without waiting for the conſent of parliament, had inveſted the duke of Gloceſter with the high dignity of protector; nor was any danger apprehended from this meaſure, ſince the numerous iſſue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, ſeemed to be an eternal obſtacle to his ambition; and it appeared equally impracticable for him to deſtroy ſo many perſons, poſſeſſed of a preferable title, and imprudent to exclude them. But a man, who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was ſoon carried by his predominant paſſion beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and Gloceſter, having ſo far ſucceeded in his views, no longer heſitated in removing the other obſtructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the earl of Rivers, and of the other priſoners detained in Pomfret, was firſt determined; and he eaſily obtained the conſent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Haſtings, to this violent and ſanguinary meaſure. However eaſy it was in thoſe times to procure a ſentence againſt the moſt innocent perſon, it appeared ſtill more eaſy to diſpatch an enemy, without any trial or form of proceſs; and orders were accordingly iſſued to ſir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper

inſtrument in the hands of this tyrant, to cut off the heads of the priſoners.

The protector then aſſailed the duke of Buckingham, and by ſpecious arguments, and offers of great private advantage, obtained from him a promiſe of ſupporting him in all his enterpriſes; but on ſounding lord Haſtings, he found that nobleman impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward; he therefore determined on his deſtruction; on the very day when Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan were executed, or rather murdered, at Pomfret, by the advice of Haſtings, the protector ſummoned a council in the Tower; whither that nobleman, ſuſpecting no deſign againſt him, repaired without heſitation. The duke of Gloceſter was capable of committing the moſt bloody and treacherous murders with the utmoſt coolneſs and indifference. On taking his place at the council-table, he appeared in the eaſieſt and moſt jovial humour imaginable. He ſeemed to indulge himſelf in familiar converſation with the counſellors, before they ſhould enter on buſineſs; and having paid ſome compliments to Morton biſhop of Ely, on the good and early ſtrawberries which he raiſed in his garden at Holborn, he begged the favour of having a diſh of them, which that prelate immediately diſpatched a ſervant to bring to him. The protector then left the council, as if called away by ſome other buſineſs; but ſoon after returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he aſked them, what puniſhment thoſe deſerved that had plotted againſt *his* life, who was ſo nearly related to the king, and was entruſted with the adminiſtration of government? Haſtings replied, that they merited the puniſhment of traitors. *Theſe traitors*, cried the protector, *are the ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his miſtreſs, with others their aſſociates: ſee to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft*; upon which he laid bare his arm, all ſhrivelled and decayed. But the counſellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all, lord Haſtings, who, as he had ſince Edward's

death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally anxious concerning the iſſue of theſe extraordinary proceedings. *Certainly my lord,* ſaid he, *if they be guilty of theſe crimes they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment. And do you reply to me,* exclaimed the protector, *with your* ifs *and your* ands? *You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: you are yourſelf a traitor: and I ſwear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me.* He ſtruck the table with his hand: armed men ruſhed in at the ſignal: the counſellors were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation: and one of the guards, as if by accident or miſtake, aimed a blow with a poll-ax at lord Stanley, who, aware of the danger, ſlunk under the table; and though he ſaved his life, received a ſevere wound in the head in the protector's preſence. Haſtings was ſeized, was hurried away, and inſtantly beheaded on a timber log which lay in the court of the Tower. Two hours after, a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and apologiſing to them, from the ſuddenneſs of the diſcovery, for the ſudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular among them: but the ſaying of a merchant was much talked of on the occaſion, who remarked, that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the ſpirit of prophecy.

Lord Stanley, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and other counſellors, were committed priſoners in different chambers of the Tower: and the protector, in order to carry on the farce of his acccuſations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be ſeized; and he ſummoned her to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft. But as no proofs which could be received even in that ignorant age were produced againſt her, he directed her to be tried in the ſpiritual court for her adulteries and lewdneſs: and ſhe did penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's, before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a ſubſtantial citizen; but unhappily, views of intereſt,

more than the maid's inclinations, had been conſulted in the match; and her mind, though framed for virtue, had proved unable to reſiſt the allurements of Edward, who ſolicited her favours. But while ſeduced from her duty by this gay and amorous monarch, ſhe ſtill made herſelf reſpectable by her other virtues; and the aſcendant which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, were all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was ſtill forward to oppoſe calumny, to protect the oppreſſed, to relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, never waited the ſolicitation of preſents, or the hopes of reciprocal ſervices. But ſhe lived not only to feel the bitterneſs of ſhame impoſed on her by this tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers who long ſolicited her friendſhip, and had been protected by her credit. No one, among the great multitudes whom ſhe had obliged, had the humanity to bring her conſolation or relief: ſhe languiſhed out her life in ſolitude and indigence: and amidſt a court, inured to the moſt atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman juſtified all violations of friendſhip towards her, and all neglect of former obligations.

After the murder of Haſtings, the protector no longer made a ſecret of his intentions to uſurp the crown. He cauſed it to be circulated, that Edward had been privately married to lady Eleanor Talbot, before he eſpouſed the lady Elizabeth Grey, and that conſequently the offspring of the laſt marriage were illegitimate; his partiſans maintained, that the act of attainder paſſed againſt the duke of Clarence, had virtually incapacitated his children from ſucceeding to the crown; and theſe two families being ſet aſide, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the houſe of York.

In conſequence of theſe abſurd pretenſions, Dr. Shaw, in a ſermon at St. Paul's, broke out in a panegyric on the duke of Gloceſter, whom he pronounced as alone capable to reſtore the loſt glory and honour of the nation; and it was concerted that the duke ſhould enter

enter the church in the midſt of the diſcourſe, when it was expected the inhabitants would cry out, *God ſave king Richard!* but by a miſtake worthy of the farce, the protector arrived too late; the preacher was abaſhed; and the audience maintained a profound ſilence.

But the duke was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpoſe. A new expedient was tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to Dr. Shaw, and entirely in the protector's intereſts, called an aſſembly of the citizens, where the duke of Buckingham, who poſſeſſed ſome talents for eloquence, harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and diſplayed thoſe numerous virtues of which he pretended that prince was poſſeſſed. He next aſked them, whether they would have the duke for king? and then ſtopped, in expectation of hearing the cry, *God ſave king Richard!* He was ſurpriſed to obſerve them ſilent; and turning about to the mayor, aſked him the reaſon. The mayor replied, that perhaps they did not underſtand him. Buckingham then repeated his diſcourſe with ſome variation; inforced the ſame topics, aſked the ſame queſtion, and was received with the ſame ſilence. "I now ſee the cauſe," ſaid the mayor; "the citizens are not accuſtomed to be harangued by any but their recorder; and know not how to anſwer a perſon of your grace's quality." The recorder, Fitz-Williams, was then commanded to repeat the ſubſtance of the duke's ſpeech; but the man, who was averſe to the office, took care, throughout his whole diſcourſe, to have it underſtood that he ſpoke nothing of himſelf, and that he only conveyed to them the ſenſe of the duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound ſilence: "this is wonderful obſtinacy," cried the duke: "expreſs your "meaning, my friends, one way or other: when we "apply to you on this occaſion, it is merely from the "regard which we bear to you. The lords and commons have ſufficient authority, without your conſent, "to appoint a king: but I require you here to declare,

" in plain terms, whether or not you will have the duke " of Gloceſter for your ſovereign?" After all theſe efforts, ſome of the meaneſt apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's ſervants, raiſed a feeble cry, *God ſave king Richard!* The ſentiments of the nation were now ſufficiently declared: the voice of the people was the voice of God: and Buckingham, with the mayor, haſtened to Baynard's caſtle, where the protector then reſided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

When Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court, he refuſed to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety: a circumſtance taken notice of by Buckingham, who obſerved to the citizens that the prince was ignorant of the whole deſign. At laſt he was perſuaded to ſtep forth, but he ſtill kept at ſome diſtance; and he aſked the meaning of their intruſion and importunity. Buckingham told him that the nation was reſolved to have him for king: the protector declared his purpoſe of maintaining his loyalty to the preſent ſovereign, and exhorted them to adhere to the ſame reſolution. He was told that the people were determined to have another prince; and if he rejected their unanimous voice, they muſt look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be reſiſted: he was prevailed on to accept of the crown: and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful ſovereign.

This ridiculous farce was ſoon after followed by a ſcene truly tragical, the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to ſir Robert Brakenbury, conſtable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but this gentleman, who had ſentiments of honour, refuſed to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then ſent for ſir James Tyrrel, who promiſed obedience; and he ordered Brakenbury to reſign to this gentleman the keys and government of the Tower for one night. Tyrrel chuſing three aſſociates, Slater, Dighton, and Foreſt, came in the night-time

to

to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and ſending in the aſſaſſins, he bade them execute their commiſſion, while he himſelf ſtaid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound ſleep. After ſuffocating them with the bolſter and pillows, they ſhowed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the ſtairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of ſtones. Theſe circumſtances were all confeſſed by the actors in the following reign; and they were never puniſhed for the crime: probably, becauſe Henry, whoſe maxims of government were extremely arbitrary, deſired to eſtabliſh it as a principle, that the commands of the reigning ſovereign ought to juſtify every enormity in thoſe who paid obedience to them. But there is one circumſtance not ſo eaſy to be accounted for. It is pretended that Richard, diſpleaſed with the indecent manner of burying his nephews, whom he had murdered, gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in conſecrated ground; and as the man died ſoon after, the place of their burial remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any ſearch which Henry could make for them. Yet in the reign of Charles II. when there was occaſion to remove ſome ſtones, and to dig in the very ſpot which was mentioned as the place of their firſt interment, the bones of two perſons were there found, which by their ſize exactly correſponded to the age of Edward and his brother: they were concluded with certainty to be the remains of thoſe princes, and were interred under a marble monument, by orders of king Charles. Perhaps Richard's chaplain had died before he found an opportunity of executing his maſter's commands; and the bodies being ſuppoſed to be already removed, a diligent ſearch was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried.

The firſt acts of Richard were to beſtow rewards on thoſe who had aſſiſted him in uſurping the crown. Thomas, lord Howard, was created duke of Norfolk: Thomas Howard, his A. D. 1382. 1385.

his ſon, earl of Surry; and the duke of Buckingham was inveſted with the office of conſtable, and received a grant of the forfeited eſtate of Bohun earl of Hereford.

But it was impoſſible friendſhip could long ſubſiſt between men of ſuch corrupt minds as Richard and Buckingham. Whether Richard, dreading his power, meditated the ruin of this formidable ſubject, or the demands of Buckingham increaſed with compliance, it is certain the latter early began to conſpire againſt the government.

Encouraged by Morton biſhop of Ely, a zealous Lancaſtrian, the duke caſt his eye toward the young earl of Richmond, as the only perſon capable of oppoſing an uſurper, whoſe murder of the young princes had rendered him the object of general deteſtation. Henry earl of Richmond was at this time detained in a kind of honourable cuſtody by the duke of Brittany; and his deſcent, which ſeemed to give him ſome pretenſions to the crown, had been a great object of jealouſy both in the late and in the preſent reign. John, the firſt duke of Somerſet, who was grandſon of John of Gaunt, by a ſpurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament, had left only one daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother Edmund had ſucceeded him in his titles, and in a conſiderable part of his fortune. Margaret had eſpouſed Edmund earl of Richmond, half brother of Henry VI. and ſon of ſir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relict of Henry V. and ſhe bore him only one ſon, who received the name of Henry, and who after his father's death inherited the honours and fortune of Richmond. His mother, being a widow, had eſpouſed, in ſecond marriage, ſir Henry Stafford, uncle to Buckingham, and after the death of that gentleman had married lord Stanley, but had no children by either of theſe huſbands; and her ſon Henry was thus, in the event of her death, the ſole heir of all her fortunes. But this was not the moſt conſiderable advantage which he had reaſon to expect from her ſucceſſion: he would repreſent the elder branch

branch of the houſe of Somerſet; he would inherit all the title of that family to the crown; and though its claim, while any legitimate branch ſubſiſted of the houſe of Lancaſter, had always been much diſregarded, the zeal of faction, after the death of Henry VI. and the murder of prince Edward, immediately conferred a weight and conſideration upon it.

Edward IV. finding that all the Lancaſtrians had turned their attention towards the young earl of Richmond, as the object of their hopes, thought him alſo worthy of his attention; and purſued him into his retreat in Brittany, whither his uncle the earl of Pembroke had carried him after the battle of Tewkeſbury, ſo fatal to his party. He applied to Francis II. duke of Brittany, who was his ally, a weak but a good prince, and urged him to deliver up this fugitive, who might be the ſource of future diſturbances in England: but the duke, averſe to ſo diſhonourable a propoſal, would only conſent that, for the ſecurity of Edward, the young nobleman ſhould be detained in cuſtody; and he received an annual penſion from England for the ſafe-keeping or the ſubſiſtence of his priſoner. But towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was menaced with a war both from France and Scotland, the anxieties of the Engliſh court with regard to Henry were much increaſed; and Edward made a new propoſal to the duke, which covered, under the faireſt appearances, the moſt bloody and treacherous intentions. He pretended that he was deſirous of gaining his enemy, and of uniting him to his own family, by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth; and he ſolicited to have him ſent over to England, in order to execute a ſcheme which would redound ſo much to his advantage. Theſe pretences, ſeconded, as is ſuppoſed, by bribes to Peter Landais, a corrupt miniſter, by whom the duke was entirely governed, gained credit with the duke of Brittany: Henry was delivered into the hands of the Engliſh agents: he was ready to embark; when a ſuſpicion of Edward's deſign was ſuggeſted to the duke, who recalled his orders, and thus

thus ſaved the unhappy youth from the imminent danger which hung over him.

As all the deſcendants of the houſe of York were either women or minors, it was ſuggeſted by Morton to unite the oppoſite factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Elibeth, the eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. and the queen dowager, who found in the proſpect her revenge for the murder of her brother and her ſons, readily entered into the project.

But the conſpiracy had not eſcaped the vigilant eye of Richard; he rapidly levied troops, and ſummoned Buckingham to appear at court; that nobleman replied by taking arms in Wales; but at that very time there happened to fall ſuch heavy rains, ſo inceſſant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severne, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, ſwelled to a height which rendered them impaſſable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his aſſociates. The Welchmen, partly moved by ſuperſtition at this extraordinary event, partly diſtreſſed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himſelf deſerted by his followers, put on a diſguiſe, and took ſhelter in the houſe of Banniſter, an old ſervant of his family. But being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Saliſbury, and was inſtantly executed, according to the ſummary method practiſed in that age. The other conſpirators hearing of his misfortune, diſperſed; and the marquis of Dorſet and the biſhop of Ely made their eſcape beyond ſea; ſome who fell into Richard's hands were executed; yet he ſeems not to have acted with ſeverity; though we are told of one gentleman who ſuffered under the colour of this rebellion; but in reality, for a diſtich of quibbling verſes which he had compoſed againſt Richard and his miniſters:

The rat, the cat, and Lovel, that dog,
Rule all England under the hog.

allud-

alluding to the names of Ratcliffe and Cateſby; and to Richard's arms, which were a boar.

The earl of Richmond, who had ſailed from St. Maloes, being informed of the misfortunes of his friends, retired to the court of Brittany; and the king, every where triumphant, not only obtained the duties of tonnage and poundage for his life, but created his only ſon Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, prince of Wales.

To gain the confidence of the Yorkiſts, Richard courted the queen-dowager, who ventured to leave her ſanctuary and put herſelf and her daughter in his power. This induced the tyrant to carry farther his views for the eſtabliſhment of his throne. He had married Anne the ſecond daughter of the earl of Warwic, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, whom Richard himſelf had murdered; but this princeſs having born him but one ſon, who died about this time, he conſidered her as an invincible obſtacle to the ſettlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poiſon; a crime for which the public could not be ſuppoſed to have any ſolid proof, but which the uſual tenor of his conduct made it reaſonable to ſuſpect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal diſpenſation, to eſpouſe, himſelf, this princeſs, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her loſt authority, neither ſcrupled this alliance, which was very unuſual in England, and was regarded as inceſtuous; nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three ſons and of her brother: ſhe even joined ſo far her intereſts with thoſe of the uſurper, that ſhe wrote to all her partiſans, and among the reſt, to her ſon the marquis of Dorſet, deſiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could

could never afterwards forgive: the court of Rome was applied to for a diſpenſation: Richard thought that he could eaſily defend himſelf during the interval, till it arrived; and he had afterwards the agreeable proſpect of a full and ſecure ſettlement.

But the crimes of Richard were ſo ſhocking to humanity, that they united againſt him every perſon of probity and honour. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Brittany, who dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, made his eſcape into France. There he found protection and aſſiſtance from the miniſters of Charles the VIIIth; and with a ſmall army of 2000 men he ſailed from Harfleur, and landed without oppoſition at Milford-haven in Wales.

Richard, who knew not in what quarter to expect the invader, had taken poſt at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom. He there heard that his rival had been joined by ſeveral perſons of conſequence; but his danger proceeded not ſo much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Except the duke of Norfolk, ſcarce any nobleman was attached to his cauſe; but the perſons of whom he entertained the greateſt ſuſpicion, were lord Stanley and his brother ſir William; whoſe connections with the family of Richmond, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of attachment to his perſon, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered lord Stanley to levy forces, he ſtill retained his eldeſt ſon lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reſerve in his proceedings. He raiſed a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, but without openly declaring himſelf: and though Henry had received ſecret aſſurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both ſides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour. The two rivals at laſt approached each other at Boſworth, near Leiceſter; Henry, at the head of 6000 men, Richard with an army of above double the number; and a deciſive action

action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above 7000 men, took care to poſt himſelf at Atherſtone, not far from the hoſtile camps, and he made ſuch a diſpoſition as enabled him on occaſion to join either party. Richard had too much ſagacity not to diſcover his intentions from thoſe movements; but he kept the ſecret from his own men for fear of diſcouraging them: he took not immediate revenge on Stanley's ſon, as ſome of his courtiers adviſed him; becauſe he hoped that ſo valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong ſtill farther his ambiguous conduct: and he haſtened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor; being certain, that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

The van of Richmond's army, conſiſting of archers, was commanded by the earl of Oxford: ſir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing; ſir John Savage the left: the earl himſelf, accompanied by his uncle the earl of Pembroke, placed himſelf in the main body. Richard alſo took poſt in *his* main body, and entruſted the command of his van to the duke of Norfolk: as his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the ſeveral commanders. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley, whoſe conduct in this whole affair diſcovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This meaſure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional effect on both armies: it inſpired unuſual courage into Henry's ſoldiers; it threw Richard's into diſmay and confuſion. The intrepid tyrant, ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation, caſt his eye around the field, and deſcrying his rival at no great diſtance, he drove againſt him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands ſir William Brandon, ſtandard bearer to the earl: he diſmounted ſir John Cheyney: he was now within reach of Rich-

mond

mond himſelf, who declined not the combat; when ſir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the laſt moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and periſhed by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied and deteſtable enormities. His men every where ſought for ſafety by flight.

There fell in this battle about 4000 of the vanquiſhed; and among theſe the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars of Chartley, ſir Richard Ratcliff, ſir Robert Piercy, and ſir Robert Brackenbury. The loſs was inconſiderable on the ſide of the victors. Sir William Cateſby, a great inſtrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and ſoon after beheaded, with ſome others, at Leiceſter. The body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all beſmeared with blood: it was thrown careleſsly acroſs a horſe; was carried to Leiceſter amidſt the ſhouts of the inſulting ſpectators; and was interred in the Gray-Friars church of that place.

The hiſtorians who favour Richard (for even this tyrant has met with partiſans among the later writers) maintain, that he was well qualified for government, had he legally obtained it; and that he committed no crimes but ſuch as were neceſſary to procure him poſſeſſion of the crown: but this is a poor apology, when it is confeſſed that he was ready to commit the moſt horrid crimes which appeared neceſſary for that purpoſe; and it is certain, that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really ſeems not to have been deficient, would never have made compenſation to the people for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder, exalted upon the throne. This prince was of a ſmall ſtature, hump-backed, and had a harſh diſagreeable countenance; ſo that his body was in every particular no leſs deformed than his mind.

A. D. 1485. 1486. The victory which the earl of Richmond gained at Boſworth was entirely deciſive; and he was immediately ſaluted with

with acclamations of long live *Henry the VIIth.* He accepted the title without heſitation; and aſſerted his claim to the throne as heir to the houſe of Lancaſter; he was determined never to allow this claim to be diſcuſſed; he therefore avoided all application to parliament for a ſettlement of the crown; and his antipathy to the houſe of York permitted him not to ingraft his pretenſions with thoſe of the princeſs Elizabeth, whom he had promiſed to eſpouſe. His jealouſy of that family was apparent in his ordering Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwic, ſon of the duke of Clarence, to be confined in the Tower; and though he ventured not to break his engagements with Elizabeth, he reſolved to poſtpone his nuptials till after the ceremony of his coronation.

Even this was deferred on account of a malady that raged in London, known by the name of the *ſweating illneſs*, which occaſioned the ſudden death of great multitudes; though it ſeemed not to be propagated by any contagious infection, but aroſe from the general diſpoſition of the air and of the human body. In leſs than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but when the peſtilence had exerted its fury for a few weeks, it was obſerved, either from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen which had been diſcovered, to be conſiderably abated. Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation. In order to heighten the ſplendour of that ſpectacle, he beſtowed the rank of knight banneret on twelve perſons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jaſper earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courtnay, earl of Devonſhire. At the coronation likewiſe there appeared a new inſtitution, which the king had eſtabliſhed for ſecurity as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But leſt the people ſhould take umbrage at this unuſual ſymptom of jealouſy in the prince, as if it implied a perſonal diffidence of his ſubjects, he declared the in-

ſtitution to be perpetual. The ceremony of coronation was performed by cardinal Bouchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

In the parliament that was ſoon after aſſembled at Weſtminſter, a ſcruple was ſtarted, whether, as the king himſelf had been attainted, his right of ſucceſſion might not thence be expoſed to doubt. But the judges aſſerted, "That the crown takes away all defects and "ſtops in blood; and that from the time the king aſ-"ſumed the royal authority the fountain was clear, and "all attainders and corruptions of blood diſcharged." This maxim was readily received by the parliament, who proceeded to ſettle the entail of the crown according to the ſenſe of the king. No mention was made of the princeſs Elizabeth: it was voted, "that "the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, remain, "and abide in the king;" but whether as rightful heir, or preſent poſſeſſor, was not determined. In like manner, Henry was contented that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſecured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not in the caſe of their failure to give a preference to the houſe of Lancaſter over that of York: yet he thought it prudent to ſtrengthen his claim by a bull from the ſee of Rome.

The parliament, at the inſtigation of Henry, had paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late king, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surry, viſcount Lovel, and ſeveral others, who had fought on the ſide of Richard. This was however followed by a royal proclamation, offering pardon to ſuch as ſubmitted themſelves by a certain day; but the earl of Surry, though he complied with the proclamation, and delivered himſelf into the king's hands, was ſent priſoner to the Tower.

The king as an act of gratitude had reſtored to Edward Strafford, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Buckingham, the honours and fortune of his family; but the miniſters whom he truſted and favoured were choſen from the clergy; John Morton, and Richard Fox, who were ſucceſſively raiſed to the ſees of Canterbury and

and Wincheſter, were the perſons in whom he chiefly confided; for Henry, as lord Bacon obſerves, loved to employ and advance prelates; becauſe having rich biſhoprics to beſtow, it was eaſy for him to reward their ſervices.

The parliament, anxious to preſerve the legal undiſputed ſucceſſion to the crown, had petitioned Henry, under pretence of deſiring to have heirs of his body, to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth. He now thought in earneſt of ſatisfying the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of univerſal joy than either his firſt entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much diſpleaſure this general favour borne to the houſe of York. The ſuſpicions which aroſe from it not only diſturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign, but bred diſguſt towards his conſort herſelf, and poiſoned all his domeſtic enjoyments. Though virtuous, amiable, and obſequious to the laſt degree, ſhe never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaiſance, from her huſband; and the malignant ideas of faction ſtill, in his ſullen mind, prevailed over all the ſentiments of conjugal tenderneſs.

The king had been carried along with ſuch a tide of ſucceſs ever ſince his arrival in England, that he thought nothing could withſtand the fortune and authority which attended him. He now reſolved to make a progreſs into the North, where the friends of the houſe of York, and even the partiſans of Richard, were numerous, in hopes of curing, by his preſence and converſation, the prejudices of the malecontents. When he arrived at Nottingham he heard that viſcount Lovel, with ſir Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas his brother, had ſecretly withdrawn themſelves from their ſanctuary at Colcheſter: but this news appeared not to him of ſuch importance as to ſtop his journey; and he proceeded forward to York. He there heard that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to beſiege the city of Worceſter: and that

Lovel, at the head of three or four thouſand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry was not diſmayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of reſources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. Though ſurrounded with enemies in theſe diſaffected counties, he aſſembled a ſmall body of troops in whom he could confide; and he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford. He joined to them all his own attendants; but he found that this haſty armament was more formidable by their ſpirit and their zealous attachment to him than by the arms or military ſtores with which they were provided. He therefore gave Bedford orders not to approach the enemy; but previouſly to try every proper expedient to diſperſe them. Bedford publiſhed a general promiſe of pardon to the rebels, which had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterpriſe that exceeded his courage and capacity, was ſo terrified with the fear of deſertion among his troops, that he ſuddenly withdrew himſelf; and after lurking ſome time in Lancaſhire, he made his eſcape into Flanders, where he was protected by the ducheſs of Burgundy. His army ſubmitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels, hearing of this ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege of Worceſter, and diſperſed themſelves. The Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found that this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence: the elder was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he had been miſled by his brother, obtained a pardon.

Henry's joy for this ſucceſs was followed, ſome time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous Britiſh king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its deſcent.

Though Henry had been able to defeat this haſty rebellion, the ſeverity he exerciſed againſt the earl of Warwic, and the harſhneſs with which he treated the queen,

queen, created a diſguſt to his government, which ſoon appeared by incidents of an extraordinary nature.

A. D. 1480. 1487. There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a prieſt ſubtle and enterpriſing. This man, for the purpoſe of diſturbing Henry, had caſt his eyes on Lambeth Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, the ſon of a baker, but endowed with underſtanding above his years, and addreſs above his condition. He inſtructed him to perſonate the unfortunate earl of Warwic, who, it was reported, had eſcaped from the Tower; and the queen dowager, irritated by the harſh treatment to which her daughter was expoſed, and the inſignificance into which ſhe was fallen, was ſuſpected of countenancing the impoſture.

It was in Ireland the ſcene was firſt opened; that country had been governed by Clarence, and was ſtill attached to his memory; and no ſooner did Simnel preſent himſelf to the earl of Kildare the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwic, than that credulous nobleman acknowledged him; the city of Dublin followed the example of the deputy; they tendered their allegiance to Simnel as the true Plantagenet; and not a ſword was drawn throughout the iſland in the cauſe of Henry.

The news of this revolt filled Henry with perplexity. His firſt meaſure was to ſeize the queen-dowager, whom he confined in the nunnery of Bermondſey, where ſhe ended her life in poverty and ſolitude. His next ſtep was to expoſe Warwic through the ſtreets of London; but though this had its effect in England, it convinced not the people of Ireland, who reproached the king with having ſhewn a counterfeit Warwic.

The conſpiracy was ſoon extended, and was entered into by the earl of Lincoln, ſon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth eldeſt ſiſter of Edward IV. a nobleman of courage and ambition: having eſtabliſhed a correſpondence in Lancaſhire, he had returned to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a

little before him; and he lived in the court of his aunt the ducheſs of Burgundy.

That princeſs, the widow of *Charles the Bold*, had acquired great authority among the Flemings by her virtuous conduct and demeanour; ſhe heard with indignation of the malignant jealouſy entertained by Henry againſt her family; and ſhe was determined to make him repent of that enmity to which ſo many of her friends, without any reaſon or neceſſity, had fallen victims. After conſulting with Lincoln and Lovel, ſhe hired a body of 2000 veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer; and ſent them over, together with theſe two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance given by perſons of ſuch high rank, and the acceſſion of this military force, much raiſed the courage of the Iriſh, and made them entertain the reſolution of invading England, where they believed the ſpirit of diſaffection as prevalent as it appeared to be in Ireland. The poverty alſo under which they laboured made it impoſſible for them to ſupport any longer their new court and army, and inſpired them with a ſtrong deſire of enriching themſelves by plunder and preferment in England.

Henry was not ignorant of theſe intentions of his enemies; and he prepared himſelf for defence. He ordered troops to be levied in different parts of the kingdom, and put them under the command of the duke of Bedford and earl of Oxford. He confined the marquis of Dorſet, who he ſuſpected would reſent the injuries ſuffered by his mother the queen-dowager: and, to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to our lady of Walſingham, famous for miracles; and there offered up prayers for ſucceſs, and for deliverance from his enemies.

Being informed that Simnel was landed at Foudrey in Lancaſhire, he drew together his forces, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the diſaffected counties

ties in the North would riſe in their favour: but the people in general, averſe to join Iriſh and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's impoſture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation for ſucceſs and conduct, either remained in tranquillity, or gave aſſiſtance to the royal army. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, was determined to bring the matter to a ſpeedy deciſion; and the king, ſupported by the native courage of his temper, and emboldened by a great acceſſion of volunteers, who had joined him under the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Strange, declined not the combat. The hoſtile armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was bloody, and more obſtinately diſputed than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebels were reſolved to conquer or to periſh; and they inſpired their troops with like reſolution. The Germans alſo, being veteran and experienced ſoldiers, kept the event long doubtful; and even the Iriſh, though ill-armed and almoſt defenceleſs, ſhowed themſelves not defective in ſpirit and bravery. The king's victory was purchaſed with loſs, but was entirely deciſive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, periſhed in the field of battle, with 4000 of their followers. As Lovel was never more heard of, he was believed to have undergone the ſame fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken priſoner. Simon, being a prieſt, was not tried at law, and was only committed to cloſe cuſtody: Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehenſion or reſentment to Henry. He was pardoned, and made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen; whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.

The puniſhment of his enemies was the firſt meaſure of Henry, and in a progreſs through the kingdom he gratified his avarice and revenge by levying heavy fines on the delinquents; he next determined to give contentment to the people in a point of ceremony they ardently deſired; and the coronation of the

queen, which had been deferred two years, was now celebrated. Henry at the ſame time reſtored to liberty the marquis of Dorſet, who had cleared himſelf of all ſuſpicions.

A. D. 1488. 1491. The proſperous ſituation of Henry's domeſtic affairs afforded him leiſure to obſerve the ſituation of the neighbouring kingdoms. The throne of Scotland was filled by James the Third, a prince of little induſtry and narrow genius. Spain, by the union of Caſtile and Arragon, in the perſons of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and by the conqueſt of Granada from the Moors, began to make a great figure in the tranſactions of Europe. Maximilian, king of the Romans, had by his marriage with the heireſs of Burgundy, acquired an intereſt in the Low Countries; after the death of his conſort, he pretended to the government, as tutor to his ſon Philip. Flanders and Hainault had refuſed to ſubmit to his authority; and Maximilian, to ſecure the neutrality of France, had given his daughter, then an infant, in marriage to the dauphin, with Artois and Franche Compté as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the deſired effect. The dauphin ſucceeded to the crown of France as Charles the Eighth; but Maximilian ſtill found the intrigues of the Flemings fomented by that court.

France, during the two preceding reigns, had made a mighty increaſe of power and greatneſs; moſt of the great fiefs, Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy, had been united to the crown; and during the minority of Charles the Eighth, Anne, lady of Beaujeu, who, as his ſiſter, had obtained the regency, formed the project of acquiring Brittany, the laſt independent fief of the monarchy. The reigning duke was of ſlender capacity; and by abandoning himſelf to the counſels of Peter Landais, a man of mean birth, had diſguſted his nobles. They had ſeized the obnoxious miniſter, and had put him to death; and their apprehenſions of the reſentment of their prince induced them to invite

invite the court of France to an invaſion of their country.

The regent readily liſtened to their ſolicitations; and had an additional motive for complying with their requeſts, in the ambition of Lewis duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, who, after diſputing with her in arms, the regency, had fled into Brittany, where he engaged the confidence of the duke, and had formed the deſign of marrying Anne the heireſs to the dutchy.

The French preſently over-run Brittany; and the duke himſelf obliged to ſeek ſhelter in Nantz. He in vain invoked the aſſiſtance of England, and reminded Henry of the protection he had granted him in his diſtreſs. That monarch was not ignorant what an important acquiſition Brittany would be to France; but he was averſe to the expence and hazard of war: and he flattered himſelf ſome unforeſeen event would ariſe, and break the deſigns of the lady of Beaujeu. But while he reſted in this expectation, he was ſurprized by the unwelcome intelligence that the Bretons had been defeated in a deciſive action; and that the duke of Orleans, and many other perſons, of high rank, were made priſoners.

The death of the duke, which followed ſoon after, threw affairs into ſtill greater confuſion; and Henry, who had not prepared againſt theſe events ſo prejudicial to the intereſts of England, now ſeemed determined to act with vigour. An inſurrection which had been excited in the North on account of ſome new tax, had been eaſily quelled by the earl of Surry, whom the king had reſtored to liberty and had taken into favour; and no longer alarmed by domeſtic enemies, Henry diſpatched lord Broke with 6000 men to the defence of Brittany; but though the Engliſh and the Bretonswere for ſome time maſters of the field, lord Broke found the affairs of the latter in ſuch confuſion, and their counſels ſo diſcordant, that deſpairing of atchieving any effectual enterprize, he reimbarked his troops for England.

In the mean time, Anne ducheſs of Brittany, preſſed on every ſide, had conſented to eſpouſe Maximilian king of the Romans, and the ceremony was performed by proxy. Yet this did not prevent the lady of Beaujeu from entertaining the proſpect of obtaining the hand for Charles the Eighth. That prince, we have already obſerved, had been affianced to Margaret the daughter of Maximilian; but the regent preferred the immediate poſſeſſion of Brittany to the doubtful proſpect of inheriting the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy: ſhe accordingly ſent back Margaret; and though the affections of Anne were fixed on Maximilian, and ſhe was ſtrongly prejudiced againſt Charles as the author of all the calamities which had befallen her family, ſuch was the diſtreſs to which ſhe was reduced, that ſhe was compelled to ſubmit, and was married at Langay, in Touraine, to the king of France.

The rage of Maximilian at this event was vented in the moſt indecent expreſſions: and Henry had never more reaſon to reproach himſelf with miſconduct. He immediately declared his reſolution to invade France; and under that pretence he iſſued a commiſſion for levying a *Benevolence* on his people; a ſpecies of taxation which had been aboliſhed by a recent law of Richard III. This violence (for ſuch it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were poſſeſſed of the ready money. London alone contributed to the amount of near 10,000 l. Archbiſhop Morton, the chancellor, inſtructed the commiſſioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended: if the perſons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their parſimony muſt neceſſarily have enriched them: if their method of living was ſplendid and hoſpitable, they were concluded to be opulent on account of their expences. This device was by ſome called chancellor Morton's fork, by others his crutch.

A. D. 1492, 1493. Irritated by the means with which France had acquired Brittany, and impatient for military glory, the parliament

and nobles became the ready tools of the king. The former granted him two fifteenths; the latter collected their vaſſals to attend him. On the 6th of October, the king arrived at Calais with an army of 25,000 foot and 1600 horſe, and laid ſiege to Bulloigne, but it was ſoon apparent that he had no ſerious intention of puſhing on the war to ſuch extremities as he pretended. Maximilian was in no readineſs to join him; Ferdinand, king of Spain, had concluded a ſeparate peace with France; and Henry affected to liſten to a remonſtrance which he himſelf had ſuggeſted; and to yield to the wiſhes of his nobles, who repreſented the lateneſs of the ſeaſon and the deſertion of his allies as invincible obſtacles to ſucceſs. Under theſe circumſtances a treaty was ſoon concluded. Charles, anxious to ſecure Brittany, and eager to invade Italy, conſented to pay Henry 745,000 crowns, near 400,000l. ſterling; and he ſtipulated a yearly penſion to him and his heirs of 25,000 crowns. Thus the king, as remarked by his hiſtorian, made profit upon his ſubjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace; and the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promiſe, when he ſaid to the parliament that he would make the war maintain itſelf.

The peace concluded between England and France, and the expedition of Charles againſt Naples, ſeemed to leave Henry in poſſeſſion of durable tranquillity; but his inveterate enemies ſoon raiſed him an adverſary, who long kept in diſquietude. The ducheſs of Burgundy was full of reſentment for the depreſſion of her family; ſhe had propagated a report that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had eſcaped from the Tower, and was ſtill alive; and ſhe had been looking out for ſome young man proper to repreſent that prince.

There was one Oſbec, or Warbec, a renegado Jew of Tournay, who had been carried by ſome buſineſs to London in the reign of Edward IV. and had there a ſon born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour,

vour, he prevailed with that prince, whoſe manners were very affable, to ſtand godfather to his ſon, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemiſh manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by ſome believed that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a ſecret commerce with Warbeck's wife, and people thence accounted for that reſemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch. Some years after the birth of this child, Warbeck returned to Tournay, where Perkin his ſon did not long remain, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortune became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the moſt diligent enquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural verſatility and ſagacity of his genius; and he ſeemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or aſſume any character. In this light he had been repreſented to the ducheſs of Burgundy, who, ſtruck with the concurrence of ſo many circumſtances ſuited to her purpoſe, deſired to be made acquainted with the man on whom ſhe already began to ground her hopes of ſucceſs. She found him to exceed her moſt ſanguine expectations; ſo comely did he appear in his perſon, ſo graceful in his air, ſo courtly in his addreſs, ſo full of docility and good ſenſe in his behaviour and converſation. The leſſons neceſſary to be taught him, in order to his perſonating the duke of York, were ſoon learned by a youth of ſuch quick apprehenſion; but as the ſeaſon ſeemed not then favourable for his enterpriſe, Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, ſent him, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world.

The war, which was then ready to break out between France and England, ſeemed to afford a proper opportunity for the diſcovery of this new phænomenon; and Ireland, which ſtill retained its attachments to the houſe of York, was choſen as the proper place for his firſt appearance. He landed at Corke, and immediately

ately aſſuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partiſans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: he diſperſed every where the ſtrange intelligence of his eſcape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard: and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general ſubject of their diſcourſe, and even the object of their favour.

The news ſoon reached France; and Charles, prompted by the ſolicitations of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, and the intrigues of one Frion, a ſecretary of Henry's, who had deſerted his ſervice, ſent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York, ſettled on him a handſome penſion, aſſigned him magnificent lodgings, and in order to provide at once for his dignity and ſecurity, gave him a guard for his perſon, of which lord Congreſal accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their ſovereign thought it his intereſt to adopt: Perkin, both by his deportment and perſonal qualities, ſupported the prepoſſeſſion which was ſpread abroad of his royal pedigree: and the whole kingdom was full of the accompliſhments, as well as the ſingular adventures and misfortunes, of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a diſtance. From France, the admiration and credulity diffuſed themſelves into England: ſir George Nevil, ſir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, came to Paris, in order to offer their ſervices to the ſuppoſed duke of York, and to ſhare his fortunes: and the impoſtor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final ſucceſs in his undertakings.

When peace was concluded between France and England, Charles conſented to diſmiſs Perkin, who found refuge with the ducheſs of Burgundy. That princeſs affected to put on the appearance of diſguſt, and it was not till after a long and ſevere ſcrutiny, that

ſhe

ſhe pretended to burſt out into joy and admiration, and embraced Perkin as the true image of Edward, and the ſole heir of the Plantagenets. The Flemings, influenced by Margaret, readily adopted the fiction; the Engliſh, from their communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepoſſeſſed in favour of the impoſtor; and even ſir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who had been ſo active in raiſing Henry to the throne, incited either by blind credulity, or a reſtleſs ambition, entertained the project of a revolt in favour of his enemy.

The king, informed of theſe particulars, proceeded deliberately, though ſteadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His firſt object was to aſcertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Five perſons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews, or could give evidence with regard to it: ſir James Tirrel, to whom he had committed the government of the Tower for that purpoſe, and who had ſeen the dead princes; Foreſt, Dighton, and Slater, who perpetrated the crime; and the prieſt who buried the bodies. Tirrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the ſame ſtory; but as the prieſt was dead, and as the bodies were ſuppoſed to have been removed by Richard's orders, from the place where they were firſt interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, ſo much as he wiſhed, beyond all doubt and controverſy.

A. D. 1494, 1495. He was in the end more ſucceſsful in detecting who this wonderful perſon was, who thus advanced pretenſions to his crown. He engaged Clifford, by the hopes of rewards and pardon, to betray his truſt; and ſuch was the diligence of his ſpies, that in the iſſue the whole plan of the conſpiracy was clearly laid before him, with the pedigree, adventures, life, and converſation, of the pretended duke of York; and the latter part of the ſtory was immediately publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the nation.

Several

Several of the conſpirators were immediately arreſted; ſome of inferior note were rapidly arraigned, convicted, and executed; but more ſolemnity was neceſſary in the proceeding againſt ſir William Stanley. Clifford was ſummoned over to accuſe him; Stanley was committrd to cuſtody, and was ſoon after examined before the council: he denied not the guilt imputed to him by Clifford; he did not even endeavour much to extenuate it; whether he thought that a frank and open confeſſion would ſerve as an atonement, or truſted to his preſent connexions and his former ſervices for pardon and ſecurity. But princes are often apt to regard great ſervices as a ground of jealouſy, eſpecially if accompanied with a craving and reſtleſs diſpoſition in the perſon who has performed them. The general diſcontent alſo, and mutinous humour of the people, ſeemed to require ſome great example of ſeverity. And as Stanley was one of the moſt opulent ſubjects of the kingdom, being poſſeſſed of above three thouſand pounds a-year in land, and forty thouſand marks in plate and money, beſides other property of great value, the proſpect of ſo rich a forfeiture was deemed no ſmall motive for Henry's proceeding to extremities againſt him. After ſix weeks delay, which was interpoſed in order to ſhew that the king was reſtrained by doubts and ſcruples, the priſoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and preſently after beheaded. Hiſtorians are not agreed with regard to the crime which was proved againſt him. The general report is, that he ſhould have ſaid in confidence to Clifford, that if he were ſure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really ſon to king Edward, he never would bear arms againſt him. The ſentiment might diſguſt Henry, as implying a preference of the houſe of York to that of Lancaſter; but could ſcarcely be the ground, even in thoſe arbitrary times, of a ſentence of high treaſon againſt Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, as is aſſerted by ſome hiſtorians, that he had expreſsly engaged to aſſiſt Perkin, and had actually ſent him ſome ſupply of money.

The

The fate of Stanley ſtruck the adherents of Perkin with the deepeſt diſmay; and the latter, as he found his pretenſions were becoming obſolete, reſolved to attempt ſomething which might revive the hopes and expectation of his partiſans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and neceſſitous perſons of all nations, to the number of 600 men, he put to ſea, with a reſolution of making a deſcent in England, and of exciting the common people to arms, ſince all his correſpondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and ſeverity. Information being brought him that the king had made a progreſs to the north, he caſt anchor on the coaſt of Kent, and ſent ſome of his retainers aſhore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent aſſembled ſome troops to oppoſe him; but they purpoſed to do more eſſential ſervice than by repelling the invaſion: they carried the ſemblance of friendſhip to Perkin, and invited him to come himſelf aſhore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, obſerving that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be ſuppoſed in new levied forces who had taken arms againſt eſtabliſhed authority, refuſed to entruſt himſelf into their hands; and the Kentiſh troops, diſpairing of ſucceſs in their ſtratagem, fell upon ſuch of his retainers as were already landed; and beſides ſome whom they ſlew, they took a hundred and fifty priſoners. Theſe were tried and condemned; and all of them executed by orders from the king, who was reſolved to uſe no lenity towards men of ſuch deſperate fortune.

This year a parliament was ſummoned in England, and another in Ireland. The Engliſh parliament enacted, that no perſon ſhould be attainted for aſſiſting the king for the time being. It alſo paſſed an act, empowering the king to levy, by courſe of law, all the ſums which any perſon had agreed to pay by way of benevolence: a ſtatute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authoriſed and juſtified.

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and

and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been ſent over to that country, with an intention of quelling the partiſans of the houſe of York, and of reducing the natives to ſubjection. He was not ſupported by forces ſufficient for that enterpriſe: the Iriſh, by flying into their woods and moraſſes and mountains, for ſome time eluded his efforts: but Poynings ſummoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more ſucceſsful. He paſſed that memorable ſtatute, which ſtill bears his name, and which eſtabliſhes the authority of the Engliſh government in Ireland. By this ſtatute all the former laws of England were made to be in force in Ireland; and no bill can be introduced into the Iriſh parliament, unleſs it previouſly receive the ſanction of the council of England. This latter clauſe ſeems calculated for enſuring the dominions of the Engliſh; but was really granted at the deſire of the Iriſh commons, who intended by that means to ſecure themſelves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of ſuch lieutenants or deputies as were of Iriſh birth.

After the retreat of Perkin from the coaſt of Kent, he neceſſarily ſought ſhelter in Flanders and Ireland; but tired of the wandering life he was compelled to lead in the latter country, he paſſed over to Scotland, where he was well received by James IV. and obtained in marriage the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley. The jealouſy which ſubſiſted between the courts of England and Scotland, induced the latter to arm in his behalf; but James in a predatory inroad on the borders, ſoon was convinced that the Engliſh would never receive a prince from neighbours whom they hated; and he perceived that Perkin's pretenſions were become ſtale, even in the eyes of the populace. A. D. 1490.

To repel the Scots, parliament had granted to Henry a ſubſidy of 120,000l. with two fifteenths; but the people ill brooked this new impoſition, and the inhabitants of Cornwall A. D. 1497.

loudly murmured againſt it. Their ill-humour was farther incited by one Michael Joſeph, a farmer at Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who, by thruſting himſelf forward on every occaſion, and being loudeſt in every complaint againſt the government, had acquired an authority among thoſe rude people. Thomas Flammoc too, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of the neighbourhood, encouraged the ſedition, by informing them, that the tax, though impoſed by parliament, was entirely illegal; that the northern nobility were bound by their tenures to defend the nation againſt the Scots; and that if theſe new impoſitions were tamely ſubmitted to, the avarice of Henry and of his miniſters would ſoon render the burden intolerable to the nation. The Corniſh, he ſaid, muſt deliver to the king a petition, ſeconded by ſuch a force as would give it authority; and, in order to procure the concurrence of the reſt of the kingdom, care muſt be taken, by their orderly deportment, to ſhew that they had nothing in view but the public good, and the redreſs of all thoſe grievances under which the people had ſo long laboured.

Encouraged by theſe ſpeeches, the multitude flocked together, and armed themſelves with axes, bills, bows, and ſuch weapons as country people are uſually poſſeſſed of. Flammoc and Joſeph were choſen their leaders. They ſoon conducted the Corniſh through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerſet. At Taunton the rebels killed, in their fury, an officious and eager commiſſioner of the ſubſidy, whom they called the provoſt of Perin. When they reached Wells, they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his department, but vain, ambitious, and reſtleſs in his temper. He had from the beginning maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the firſt movers of the inſurrection; and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. Proud of the countenance given them by ſo conſiderable a nobleman, they continued their march, breathing deſtruction to the king's miniſters and favourites, particularly

to

to Morton, now a cardinal, and ſir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the moſt active inſtruments of all his oppreſſions. Notwithſtanding their rage againſt the adminiſtration, they carefully followed the directions given them by their leaders; and as they met with no reſiſtance, they committed, during their march, no violence or diſorder.

Henry, to oppoſe the Scots, had already levied an army; but though it was an uſual ſaying with him, *that he deſired but to ſee his rebels*, it was not until he had ſelected all his forces that he marched to attack them. They had advanced to the very gates of London; were formidable from their numbers and their valour; but ill diſciplined, and ill armed, were not a match for the king's troops. After a ſhort reſiſtance, they were broke and put to flight on Black-heath. Lord Audley, Flammoc, and Joſeph, their leaders, were taken and executed; but Henry pitied the ignorance and ſimplicity of the multitude, and diſmiſſed them without puniſhment.

During theſe commotions, the Scottiſh king had laid ſiege to the caſtle of Norham in Northumberland; but on the appearance of the earl of Surry, he abandoned the enterprize: after a truce was concluded between the two crowns, and James perceiving that while Perkin remained in Scotland, he ſhould never enjoy a ſolid peace with Henry, privately deſired him to depart the kingdom.

For ſome time after quitting Scotland Perkin hid himſelf in the wilds and faſtneſſes of Ireland. Impatient, however, of a retreat, which was both diſagreeable and dangerous, he held conſultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Aſtley, three broken tradeſmen: by their advice he reſolved to try the affections of the Corniſh, whoſe mutinous diſpoſition, notwithſtanding the king's lenity, ſtill ſubſiſted, after the ſuppreſſion of their rebellion. No ſooner did he appear at Bodmin in Cornwall than the populace, to the number of three thouſand, flocked to his ſtandard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of ſucceſs,

took on him, for the firſt time, the appellation of Richard IV. king of England. Not to ſuffer the expectations of his followers to languiſh, he preſented himſelf before Exeter; and, by many fair promiſes, invited that city to join him. Finding that the inhabitants ſhut their gates againſt him, he laid ſiege to the place; but being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requiſite for the attempt, he made no progreſs in his undertaking. Meſſengers were ſent to the king, informing him of his inſurrection: the citizens of Exeter, meanwhile, were determined to hold out to the laſt extremity, in expectation of receiving ſuccour from the well-known vigilance of that monarch.

When Henry was informed that Perkin was landed in England, he expreſſed great joy, and prepared himſelf with alacrity to attack him, in hopes of being able, at length, to put a period to pretenſions which had ſo long given him vexation and inquietude. All the courtiers, ſenſible that their activity on this occaſion would be the moſt acceptable ſervice which they could render the king, diſplayed their zeal for the enterprize, and forwarded his preparations. The lords Daubeney and Broke, with ſir Rice ap Thomas, haſtened forward with a ſmall body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonſhire, and the moſt conſiderable gentlemen of the county of that name, took arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himſelf at the head of a troop, conſiſting of young nobility and gentry, who ſerved as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of diſplaying their courage and their loyalty. The king himſelf prepared to follow with a conſiderable army; and thus all England ſeemed united againſt a pretender who had at firſt engaged their attention, and divided their affections.

Perkin, informed of theſe great preparations, immediately raiſed the ſiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of near ſeven thouſand, and ſeemed ſtill reſo-

reſolute to maintain his cauſe, he himſelf deſpaired of ſucceſs, and ſecretly withdrew to the ſanctuary of Beaulieu in the new foreſt. The Corniſh rebels ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhauſted in their behalf. Except a few perſons of deſperate fortunes who were executed, and ſome others who were ſeverely fined, all the reſt were diſmiſſed with impunity. Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generoſity which does him honour. He ſoothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable ſtation about the queen, and aſſigned her a penſion, which ſhe enjoyed even under his ſucceſſor.

The emiſſaries of Henry perſuaded Perkin to quit his ſanctuary, and on a promiſe of pardon, deliver himſelf into the king's hands. A. D. 1498. He was conducted in a kind of mock triumph to London; his confeſſion of his life and adventures was publiſhed; but as Henry's regard to decency had made him ſuppreſs the ſhare which the ducheſs of Burgundy had in contriving the impoſture, the people paid leſs credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

Though Perkin's life was granted him, he was ſtill detained in cuſtody, and keepers were appointed to guard him. A. D. 1499. Impatient of confinement, he broke from his keepers, and flying to the ſanctuary of Shyne, put himſelf into the hands of the prior of that monaſtery. The prior had obtained great credit by his character of ſanctity; and he prevailed on the king again to grant a pardon to Perkin. But in order to reduce him to ſtill greater contempt, he was ſet in the ſtocks at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, and obliged in both places to read aloud to the people the confeſſion which had formerly been publiſhed in his name. He was then confined to the Tower, where his habits of reſtleſs intrigue and enterprize followed him. He inſinuated himſelf into the intimacy of four ſervants of ſir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower; and, by their means, opened a correſpondence with the earl of Warwic, who was confined in

the ſame priſon. This unfortunate prince, who had from his earlieſt youth been ſhut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the moſt common affairs of life, had fallen into a ſimplicity which made him ſuſceptible of any impreſſion. The continued dread alſo of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his eſcape, by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprize. The conſpiracy eſcaped not the king's vigilance: it was even very generally believed, that the ſcheme had been laid by himſelf, in order to draw Warwic and Perkin into the ſnare: but the ſubſequent execution of two of Digby's ſervants for the contrivance, ſeems to clear the king of that imputation, which was indeed founded more on the general idea entertained of his character, than on any poſitive evidence.

Perkin, by this new attempt, after ſo many enormities, had rendered himſelf totally unworthy of mercy; and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and ſoon after hanged at Tyburn, perſiſting ſtill in the confeſſion of his impoſture. It happened about that very time, that one Wilford, a cordwainer's ſon, encouraged by the ſurpriſing credit given to other impoſtures, had undertaken to perſonate the earl of Warwic; and a prieſt had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cauſe to the people, who ſeemed ſtill to retain a propenſity to adopt it. This incident ſerved Henry as a pretence for his ſeverity towards that prince. He was brought to trial, and accuſed not of contriving his eſcape (for as he was committed for no crime, the deſire of liberty muſt have been regarded as natural and innocent), but of forming deſigns to diſturb the government, and raiſe an inſurrection among the people. Warwic confeſſed the indictment, was condemned, and the ſentence was executed upon him.

This act of tyranny was the great blemiſh of Henry's reign; and though he endeavoured to alleviate the odium by ſharing it with his ally, Ferdinand of Arra-

gon,

gon, who, he ſaid, ſcrupled to give his daughter Catharine in marriage to Arthur, while any male deſcendant of the houſe of York remained, men felt higher indignation at ſeeing a young prince ſacrificed to the jealous politics of two ſubtle and crafty tyrants.

But though theſe diſcontents foſtered in the minds of men, they were checked by Henry's wretched policy; and foreign princes, deeming his throne ſecure, paid him the greateſt deference. The prince on whoſe alliance he moſt valued himſelf was Ferdinand of Arragon. There was a remarkable ſimilarity of character between theſe two monarchs; both were full of craft, intrigue, and deſign; and though a reſemblance of this nature be a ſlender foundation for confidence and amity, where the intereſts of the parties in the leaſt interfere; ſuch was the ſituation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealouſy ever on any occaſion aroſe between them. The king had now the ſatisfaction of completing a marriage, which had been projected and negotiated during the courſe of ſeven years, between Arthur prince of Wales, and the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella; he was near ſixteen years of age, ſhe eighteen. But this marriage proved in the iſſue unproſperous. The young prince a few months after ſickened and died, much regretted by the nation. Henry, deſirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and alſo unwilling to reſtore Catharine's dowry, which was two hundred thouſand ducats, obliged his ſecond ſon Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta. The prince made all the oppoſition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but as the king perſiſted in his reſolution, the eſpouſals were at length, by means of the pope's diſpenſation, contracted between the parties: an event which was afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences. A. D. 1419, 1502.

The ſame year another marriage was celebrated, which was alſo in the next age productive of great events: the marriage of Margaret, the king's elder

daughter, with James king of Scotland. This alliance had been negociated during three years, though interrupted by ſeveral broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all ſource of diſcord with that neighbouring kingdom, by whoſe animoſity England had ſo often been infeſted. When this marriage was deliberated on in the Engliſh council, ſome objected that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No," replied Henry, "Scotland in that event "will only become an acceſſion to England." Amidſt theſe proſperous incidents the king met a domeſtic calamity, which made not ſuch impreſſion on him as it merited: his queen died in child-bed; and the infant did not long ſurvive her. This princeſs was deſervedly the favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her increaſed, on account of the harſh treatment which it was thought ſhe met with from her conſort.

A. D. 1503, 1506. Uncontrolled by apprehenſion or oppoſition of any kind, Henry now gave ſcope to his ruling propenſity, and his avarice broke through all reſtraints. He had found two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, perfectly qualified to ſecond his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceleſs people. Theſe inſtruments of oppreſſion were both lawyers; the firſt of mean birth, of brutal manners, of unrelenting temper; the ſecond better born, better educated and better bred, but equally unjuſt, ſevere, and inflexible. By their knowledge in law theſe men were qualified to pervert the forms of juſtice to the oppreſſion of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king ſupported them in all their iniquities.

It was their uſual practice at firſt to obſerve ſo far the appearance of law as to give indictments to thoſe whom they intended to oppreſs; upon which the perſons were committed to priſon, but never brought to trial; and were at length obliged, in order to recover their liberty, to pay heavy fines and ranſoms, which

which were called mitigations and compoſitions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected: the two miniſters ſent forth their precepts to attach men, and ſummon them before themſelves and ſome others, at their private houſes, in a court of commiſſion, where in a ſummary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were iſſued, both in pleas of the crown, and controverſies between private parties. Juries themſelves, when ſummoned, proved but ſmall ſecurity to the ſubject; being brow-beaten by theſe oppreſſors; nay fined, impriſoned, and puniſhed, if they gave ſentence againſt the inclination of the miniſters. Spies, informers, and inquiſitors, were encouraged and multiplied; and the ſole end of the king, and his miniſters, was to amaſs money, and bring every one under the laſh of their authority.

In vain did the people look to protection from the parliament: that aſſembly was ſo overawed, that during the greateſt rage of Henry's oppreſſions, the commons choſe Dudley their ſpeaker, and granted the king what ſubſidies he demanded; and ſuch were the arts of accumulation of that monarch, that he is ſaid to have poſſeſſed the ſum of 1,800,000l. a treaſure almoſt incredible if we conſider the ſcarcity of ſpecie in thoſe times.

One domeſtic enemy alone ſeemed to diſturb the domeſtic tranquillity of the king. Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV. actuated by a reſtleſs diſpoſition, had fled into Flanders, and thence attempted to excite new commotions in England; while Henry was indefatigable in every artifice to ſeize him, a violent tempeſt obliged the archduke Philip, who had juſt ſucceeded to the crown of Caſtile, and was paſſing into Spain, to ſeek ſhelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Fatigue and ſickneſs induced him to land; and the king received his gueſt at Windſor with all poſſible magnificence. He neglected not, however, the opportunity to complain of the reception which Suffolk had found in

his

his dominions. "I really thought," replied the king of Caſtile, "that your greatneſs and felicity "had ſet you far above apprehenſions from any per-"ſon of ſo little conſequence: but, to give you ſa-"tisfaction, I ſhall baniſh him my ſtate." "I ex-"pect that you will carry your complaiſance far-"ther," ſaid the king; "I deſire to have Suffolk put "into my hands, where alone I can depend upon "his ſubmiſſion and obedience." "That meaſure," ſaid Philip, "will reflect diſhonour upon you as "well as myſelf. You will be thought to have "treated me as a priſoner." "Then the matter is "at an end," replied the king, "for I will take "that diſhonour upon me; and ſo your honour is "ſaved." The king of Caſtile found himſelf under the neceſſity of complying; but he firſt exacted Henry's promiſe that he would ſpare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England by Philip, as if the king would grant him pardon, on the interceſſion of his friend and ally. Upon his appearance he was committed to the Tower; and the king of Caſtile, having fully ſatisfied Henry, as well by this conceſſion as by ſigning a treaty of commerce between England and Caſtile, which was advantageous to the former kingdom, was at laſt allowed to depart, after a ſtay of three months.

A. D. 1507, 1509. The king ſurvived this tranſaction little more than two years. The decline of his health induced him to turn his thoughts towards that future exiſtence which the iniquities and ſeverities of his reign rendered a very diſmal proſpect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by diſtributing alms and founding religious houſes, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchaſe, by the ſacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treaſures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. Remorſe even ſeized him, at intervals, for the abuſe of his authority by Empſon and Dudley; but not ſufficient to make him ſtop the rapacious hand of thoſe oppreſſors. Sir William Capel was again fined two thouſand pounds,

under

under ſome frivolous pretence, and was committed to the Tower for daring to murmur againſt the iniquity. Harris, an alderman of London, was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came to an iſſue. Sir Lawrence Almer, who had been mayor, and his two ſheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and ſent to priſon till they made payment. The king gave countenance to all theſe oppreſſions; till death, by its nearer approaches, impreſſed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered by a general clauſe in his will, that reſtitution ſhould be made to all thoſe whom he had injured. He died of a conſumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-ſecond year of his age.

The reign of Henry was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He maintained peace and order in the ſtate, he depreſſed the exorbitant power of the nobility, and he acquired the conſideration and regard of the foreign princes. He loved peace, without fearing war; his capacity was excellent, though ſomewhat contracted by the narrowneſs of his heart. Avarice was his ruling paſſion; and as a proof of his attention to the ſmalleſt profits, Bacon tells us, that he had ſeen a book of accompts kept by Empſon, and ſubſcribed in almoſt every leaf by the king's own hand. Among other articles was the following: "*Item*, received "of ſuch a one five marks for a pardon, which if it "do not paſs, the money to be repayed, or the party "otherwiſe ſatisfied." Oppoſite to the memorandum the king had writ with his own hand "other-"wiſe ſatisfied."

The power of the kings of England was ſcarce ever ſo abſolute as during the reign of Henry. Soon after his acceſſion the authority of the Star Chamber, which was before founded on common law and ancient practice, was in ſome caſes confirmed by act of parliament: lord Bacon extols the utility of this court; but men began, even during the age of that hiſ-

hiſtorian, to feel that ſo arbitrary a juriſdiction was incompatible with liberty; and in proportion as the ſpirit of independence ſtill roſe higher in the nation, the averſion to it increaſed, till it was entirely aboliſhed by act of parliament in the reign of Charles I. a little before the commencement of the civil wars.

There ſcarcely paſſed any ſeſſion during this reign without ſome ſtatute againſt engaging retainers, and giving them badges and liveries, a practice by which they were enliſted under ſome great lord, and were kept in readineſs to aſſiſt him in all his violences. There is a ſtory of Henry's ſeverity againſt this abuſe; and it ſeems to merit praiſe, though it is commonly cited as an inſtance of his avarive and rapacity. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deſerved confidence, having ſplendidly entertained him at his caſtle at Heningham, was deſirous of making a parade of his magnificence at the departure of his royal gueſt; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and ſplendid. "My lord," ſaid the king, "I have "heard much of your hoſpitality; but the truth far "exceeds the report. Theſe handſome gentlemen "and yeomen, whom I ſee on both ſides of me, are "no doubt your menial ſervants." The earl ſmiled, and confeſſed that his fortune was too narrow for ſuch magnificence. "They are moſt of them," "ſubjoined he, "my retainers, who are come to "do me ſervice at this time, when they know I am "honoured with your majeſty's preſence." The king ſtarted a little, and ſaid, "By my faith, my "lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I muſt "not allow my laws to be broken in my ſight. My "attorney muſt ſpeak with you." Oxford is ſaid to have paid no leſs than fifteen thouſand marks, as a compoſition for his offence.

But the moſt important law in its conſequences which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that

that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their eſtates. By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually diſſipated, and the property of the commons increaſed in England. It is probable that Henry foreſaw and intended this conſequence; becauſe the conſtant ſcheme of his policy conſiſted in depreſſing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependent on him.

It was during this reign, on the ſecond of Auguſt 1492, a little before ſun-ſet, that Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſe, ſet out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the diſcovery of the weſtern world; and a few years after Vaſques de Gama, a Portugueſe, paſſed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. It was by accident only the king had not a conſiderable ſhare in thoſe great naval diſcoveries by which the preſent age was ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Columbus, after meeting with many repulſes from the courts of Portugal and Spain, ſent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his project to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage, and Columbus meanwhile having obtained the countenance of Iſabella, was ſupplied with a ſmall fleet, and happily executed his enterprize. Henry was not diſcouraged by this diſappointment: he fitted out Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian, ſettled at Briſtol, and ſent him weſtward, in 1498, in ſearch of new countries. Cabot diſcovered the main land of America towards the ſixtieth degree of northern latitude: he ſailed ſouthward along the coaſt, and diſcovered Newfoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any conqueſt or ſettlement. Elliot, and other merchants in Briſtol,

Briſtol, made a like attempt in 1502. The king expended fourteen thouſand pounds in building one ſhip, called the *Great Harry*. She was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy. Before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or preſſing ſhips from the merchants.

But though this improvement of navigation, and the diſcovery of both the Indies, was the moſt memorable incident that happened during this or any other period, it was not the only great event by which the age was diſtinguiſhed. In 1453 Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom ſome remains of learning were ſtill preſerved, being ſcattered by theſe barbarians, took ſhelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their ſcience, and of their refined taſte in poetry and eloquence. About the ſame time the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the ſtudy of antiquity became faſhionable, and the eſteem for literature gradually propagated itſelf throughout every nation in Europe. The art of printing, invented about that time, extremely facilitated the progreſs of all theſe improvements: the invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war: mighty innovations were ſoon after made in religion, ſuch as not only affected thoſe ſtates that embraced them, but even thoſe that adhered to the ancient faith and worſhip: and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world: and men gradually attained that ſituation with regard to commerce, arts, ſcience, government, police, and cultivation, in which they have ever ſince perſevered. Here, therefore, commences the uſeful, as well as the more agreeable part of modern annals; certainty has place in all the conſiderable, and even moſt of the minute parts of hiſtorical narration; a great variety of events, preſerved by printing, give the author the power

power of ſelecting, as well as adorning the facts which he relates; and as each incident has a reference to our preſent manners and ſituation, inſtructive leſſons occur every moment during the courſe of the narration. Whoever carries his anxious reſearches into preceding periods is moved by a curioſity, liberal indeed and commendable; not by any neceſſity for acquiring knowledge of public affairs, or the arts of civil government.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IX.

Popularity of the new king—his marriage.—Foreign affairs.—War with France—with Scotland.—Wolsey minister.—Battle of Guinegate.—Battle of Flouden. Peace with France.—Wolsey's administration.—Progress of Francis the First.—Tournay delivered to France.—Wolsey appointed legate.—Charles king of Spain chosen emperor.—Interview between Henry and Francis.—Trial of the duke of Buckingham.—Henry styled Defender of the Faith.—War with France and Scotland.—Battle of Pavia.—Francis recovers his liberty.—Scruples concerning the king's marriage—Anne Boleyn.—Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.—The pope's ambiguous conduct.—The cause evoked to Rome.—Wolsey's fall.—Commencement of the reformation in England.—Foreign affairs.—Wolsey's death.—Progress of the reformation.—The king's final breach with Rome.

THE accession of Henry VIII. spread
A. D. 1509. universal and unfeigned satisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne, who even in the eyes of men of sense gave promising hopes of his future conduct, much more in those of the people, always inchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. The beauty and vigour of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour. His father, in order to remove him from the knowledge of public business, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the pursuits of

of literature; and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognoſtic of his parts and capacity. Even the vices of vehemence, ardour, and impatience, to which he was ſubject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were conſidered only as faults incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity. And as the contending titles of York and Lancaſter were now at laſt fully united in his perſon, men juſtly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no party, that impartiality of adminiſtration which had long been unknown in England.

Theſe favourable prepoſſeſſions were encouraged by the early meaſures which Henry embraced; his council were compoſed of men accuſtomed to buſineſs under the late king, but who were the leaſt unpopular of the miniſters of that moment. The earl of Surry, and Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, were the chief competitors for his favour. The former, with the addreſs of a courtier, promoted that pleaſure and magnificence which began to prevail under the new reign. The great treaſures amaſſed by the late king were gradually diſſipated in the giddy expences of Henry; or if he intermitted the courſe of his feſtivity, he chiefly employed himſelf in an application to muſic and literature, which were his favourite purſuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. He had made ſuch proficiency in the former art, as even to compoſe ſome pieces of church muſic, which were ſung in his chapel. He was initiated in the elegant learning of the ancients. And though he was ſo unfortunate as to be ſeduced into a ſtudy of the barren controverſies of the ſchools, which were then faſhionable, and had choſen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite author, he ſtill diſcovered a capacity fitted for more uſeful and entertaining knowledge.

The execution of Empſon and Dudley was rather a ſacrifice to public opinion than to juſtice; yet while Henry puniſhed the inſtruments of paſt ty-

ranny, he paid ſuch deference to former engagements, as to celebrate his marriage with the infanta Catharine, though her former marriage with his brother was urged by the primate as an important objection.

It was at this period, when the ſituation of the different monarchies of Europe promiſed by balancing each other, a long tranquillity, that the flames of war were kindled by Julius II. an ambitious and enterpriſing pontiff. By his intrigues a league had been formed at Cambray between himſelf, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand, to overwhelm the commonwealth of Venice. Henry allowed his name to be inſerted in the confederacy; which proved but too ſucceſsful againſt the republic.

A. D. 1510. 1512. Julius had no ſooner humbled the Venetian republic, than he was inſpired with the ambition of expelling all foreigners from Italy. He was determined to make the tempeſt firſt fall on Lewis. He drew over Ferdinand to his party; and he ſolicited the favour of England by ſending Henry a ſacred roſe, perfumed with muſk, and anointed with ſchiſm. He gave him hopes that the title of *moſt Chriſtian King*, which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, ſhould be annexed to that of England; and Henry, allured by this expectation, and impatient to diſtinguiſh himſelf in arms, joined the alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed againſt the French monarch.

Inſtead of invading France by the way of Calais, Henry was prevailed on by Ferdinand to ſend forces to Fontarabia, whence it was inſinuated that he could eaſily make conqueſt of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the Engliſh had ſtill ſome adherents. In conſequence of this propoſal, the marquis of Dorſet landed with ten thouſand men in Guipiſcoa: but he diſcovered too late the artifice of Ferdinand, who, inſtead of ſeconding the Engliſh in their enterpriſes on Guienne, was only anxious to ſecure to himſelf

the ſmall kingdom of Naverre, which lies on the frontiers between France and Spain.

In this enterpriſe Dorſet refuſed to concur; and the diſcontent of the ſoldiers at the treachery of Ferdinand, induced him ſoon after to reimbark them for England, where he appeaſed Henry by explaining to him the fraudulent conduct of his ally.

There happened this ſummer an action at ſea, which brought not any more de- A. D. 1513. ciſive advantage to the Engliſh. Sir Thomas Knevet, maſter of horſe, was ſent to the coaſt of Britanny with a fleet of forty-five ſail; and he carried with him ſir Charles Brandon, ſir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of diſplaying their valour. After they had committed ſome depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine ſail iſſued from Breſt, under the command of Primauget, and began an engagement with the Engliſh. Fire ſeized the ſhip of Primauget, who, finding the deſtruction inevitable, bore down upon the veſſel of the Engliſh admiral, and grappling with her, reſolved to make her ſhare his fate. Both fleets ſtood ſome time in ſuſpence, as ſpectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men ſaw with horror the flames which conſumed both veſſels, and heard the cries of fury and deſpair, which came from the miſerable combatants. At laſt the French veſſel blew up, and at the ſame time deſtroyed the Engliſh. The reſt of the French fleet made their eſcape into different harbours.

The war which England waged againſt France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter; and obliged Lewis, for the defence of his own dominions, to abandon his conqueſts in Italy. The extreme joy of Julius on this event proved fatal to his life; and he was ſucceeded by Leo X. one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever ſat on the papal throne. He was beneficent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue; he had a ſoul

no leſs capable of forming great deſigns than his predeceſſor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. The ſole defect, indeed, of his character, was too great fineſſe and artifice; a fault which, both as a prieſt and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. By the negotiations of Leo, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French intereſt; and Henry, notwithſtanding his diſappointments in the former campaign, was ſtill encouraged to proſecute his warlike meaſures againſt Lewis.

Henry had ſummoned a new ſeſſion of parliament, and obtained a ſupply for this enterpriſe. It was a poll tax, and impoſed different ſums, according to the ſtation and riches of the perſon. A duke paid ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. An impoſition was alſo granted of two fifteenths and four tenths. By theſe ſupplies, joined to the treaſure which had been left by his father, and which was not yet entirely diſſipated, he was enabled to levy a great army, and render himſelf formidable to his enemy. The Engliſh are ſaid to have been much encouraged in this enterpriſe, by the arrival of a veſſel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried preſents of wine and hams to the king and the more eminent courtiers; and ſuch fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that theſe trivial preſents were every where received with the greateſt triumph and exultation.

In order to prevent all diſturbances from Scotland, while Henry's arms ſhould be employed on the continent, Dr. Weſt, dean of Windſor, was diſpatched on an embaſſy to James, the king's brother-in-law; and inſtructions were given him to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to diſcover the intentions of the court of Scotland. Some complaints had already been made on both ſides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having ſuffered in-

injuries from the Portugueſe, for which he could obtain no redreſs, had procured letters of marque againſt that nation; but he had no ſooner put to ſea, than he was guilty of the groſſeſt abuſes, committed depredations upon the Engliſh, and much infeſted the narrow ſeas. Lord Howard, and ſir Edward Howard, admirals, and ſons of the earl of Surry, ſailing out againſt him, fought him in a deſperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ſhips into the Thames. As Henry refuſed all ſatisfaction for this act of juſtice, ſome of the borderers, who wanted but a pretence for depredations, entered England under the command of lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages on that kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe mutual grounds of ſatisfaction, matters might eaſily have been accommodated, had it not been for Henry's intended invaſion of France, which rouſed the jealouſy of the Scottiſh nation. The ancient league, which ſubſiſted betwen France and Scotland, was conceived to be the ſtrongeſt band of connexion; and the Scots univerſally believed, that, were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able ſo long to maintain their independence againſt a people ſo much ſuperior. James was farther inticed to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne, queen of France, whoſe knight he had ever in all tournaments profeſſed himſelf, and who ſummoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry, prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and prove himſelf her true and valorous champion. The remonſtrances of his conſort, and of his wiſeſt counſellors, were in vain oppoſed to the martial ardour of this prince. He firſt ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to the aſſiſtance of France; the only fleet which Scotland ſeems ever to have poſſeſſed. And though he ſtill made profeſſions of maintaining a neutrality, the Engliſh ambaſſador eaſily foreſaw that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the dan-

ger to his maſter, who ſent the earl of Surry to put the borders in a poſture of defence, and to reſiſt the expected invaſion of the enemy.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, was little diſcouraged by this appearance of a diverſion from the North; he had now got a miniſter who flattered him in every ſcheme to which his impetuous temper inclined. Thomas Wolſey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, ſurpaſſed in favour all his miniſters, and was faſt advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorſet's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and ſoon gained the friendſhip and countenance of his patron. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII. and being employed by that monarch in a ſecret negotiation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himſelf to the king's ſatisfaction, and obtained the praiſe both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct. That prince, having given him a commiſſion to Maximilian, who at that time reſided in Bruſſels, was ſurpriſed in leſs than three days after to ſee Wolſey preſent himſelf before him; and ſuppoſing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolſey informed him, that he had juſt returned from Bruſſels, and had ſucceſsfully fulfilled all his majeſty's commands. "But on ſecond thoughts," ſaid the king, "I found that "ſomewhat was omitted in your orders, and have "ſent a meſſenger after you with fuller inſtructions." "I met the meſſenger," replied Wolſey, "on my "return: but as I had reflected on that omiſſion, "I ventured of myſelf to execute what, I knew, muſt "be your majeſty's intentions." The death of Henry, ſoon after this incident, retarded the advancement of Wolſey, and prevented his reaping any advan-

advantage from the good opinion which that monarch had entertained of him: but thenceforwards he was looked on at court as a riſing man; and Fox biſhop of Wincheſter caſt his eye upon him as one who might be ſerviceable to him in his preſent ſituation. This prelate, obſerving that the earl of Surry had totally eclipſed him in favour, reſolved to introduce Wolſey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surry in his inſinuating arts, and yet be contented to act in the cabinet a part ſubordinate to Fox himſelf, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolſey gained ſo much on the king, that he ſupplanted both Surry in his favour, and Fox in his truſt and confidence. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleaſure, he took the lead in every jovial converſation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found ſuitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any reſtraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any uſeleſs ſeverity, the gaiety, in which Henry, who had ſmall propenſion to debauchery, paſſed his careleſs hours. During the intervals of amuſement, he introduced buſineſs, and inſinuated thoſe maxims of conduct which he was deſirous his maſter ſhould adopt. He obſerved to him, that, while he entruſted his affairs into the hands of his father's counſellors, he had the advantage indeed of employing men of wiſdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who ſcarcely thought themſelves accountable to him for the exerciſe of their authority: that by the factions, and cabals, and jealouſies, which had long prevailed among them, they more obſtructed the advancement of his affairs, than they promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them: that while he thought proper to paſs his time in thoſe pleaſures, to which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in thoſe ſtudies, which would in time enable him to ſway the

ſceptre with abſolute authority, his beſt ſyſtem of government would be to entruſt his authority into the hands of ſome one perſon, who was the creature of his will, and who could entertain no view but that of promoting his ſervice: and that if this miniſter had alſo the ſame reliſh for pleaſure with himſelf, and the ſame taſte for ſcience, he could more eaſily, at intervals, account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his maſter gradually into the knowledge of public buſineſs; and thus, without tedious conſtraint or application, initiate him in the ſcience of government.

Henry entered into all the views of Wolſey; and finding no one ſo capable of executing this plan of adminiſtration as the perſon who propoſed it, he ſoon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleaſures, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his ſole and abſolute miniſter. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority, the character and genius of Wolſey had full opportunity to diſplay itſelf. Inſatiable in his acquiſitions, but ſtill more magnificent in his expence: of extenſive capacity, but ſtill more unbounded enterpriſe: ambitious of power, but ſtill more deſirous of glory: inſinuating, engaging, perſuaſive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppreſſive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; leſs moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the aſcendant in every intercourſe with others, but exerted this ſuperiority of *nature* with ſuch oſtentation as expoſed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority, or rather meanneſs of his *fortune*.

Henry, finding Lewis had made great preparations by ſea, had equipped a conſiderable fleet, and entruſted the command of it to ſir Edward Howard. It was a maxim of Howard, that no admiral was good for any thing that was not even brave to a de-

gree of madneſs. With only two gallies he attacked, near Breſt, ſix French gallies, ſecured by batteries. He immediately faſtened on the French admiral's ſhip, and leaped on board her, attended by one Carroz, a Spaniſh cavalier, and ſeventeen Engliſhmen: the cable meanwhile which faſtened his ſhip to that of the enemy being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; as he ſtill continued the combat with great gallantry, he was puſhed overboard by their pikes; and the fleet was ſo diſcouraged by the loſs of their commander, that they retired from before Breſt.

In the mean time, Henry, having levied a numerous army, prepared to paſs over to Calais. He appointed the queen regent during his abſence; and to ſecure her adminiſtration from all diſturbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had been attainted in the late reign, to be executed. In his expedition he was accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, and many of the nobility: but of the allies on whoſe aſſiſtance he relied, the Swiſs alone performed their engagements, and invaded France. Maximilian, inſtead of reinforcing the latter with 8000 men, joined the Engliſh army with a few German and Flemiſh ſoldiers. Obſerving the diſpoſition of the Engliſh monarch to be more bent on glory than on intereſt, he enliſted himſelf into his ſervice, and received an hundred crowns a-day as one of his ſubjects and captains. And while he exhibited this extraordinary ſpectacle of an emperor of Germany ſerving under a king of England, he was treated with the higheſt reſpect by Henry, and really directed the operations of the Engliſh army.

The Engliſh had preſſed the ſiege of Terouane, a town ſituated on the frontiers of Picardy. The beſieged were reduced to the laſt extremity, when 800 horſemen, each of whom carried a ſack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon, broke through the lines of the beſiegers, depoſited their burden

burden in the town, and forced their way back before the Engliſh were collected to ſurround them.

But the Engliſh had, ſoon after, full revenge for the inſult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horſe, who had advanced to protect another incurſion of Fontrailles; and he ordered ſome troops to paſs the Lis, in order to oppoſe them. The cavalry of France, though they conſiſted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many deſperate actions in Italy, were, on ſight of the enemy, ſeized with ſo unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the Engliſh. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of diſtinction, were made priſoners. This action, or rather rout, is ſometimes called the battle of Guienegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, becauſe the French, that day, made more uſe of their ſpurs than of their ſwords or military weapons.

Inſtead of purſuing his victory, the king returned to the ſiege of Terouane which ſoon after was obliged to capitulate; he next at the inſtance of Maximilian, inveſted Tournay, and that city alſo ſurrendered in a few days; the biſhop of Tournay was lately dead; and, as a new biſhop was already elected by the chapter, but not inſtalled in his office, the king beſtowed the adminiſtration of the ſee on his favourite Wolſey, and put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the revenues, which were conſiderable. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiſs, and obſerving the ſeaſon to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Succeſs had attended him in every enterpriſe; and his youthful mind was much elated with this ſeeming proſperity; but all men of judgment, comparing the advantages

of

of his ſituation with his progreſs, his expence with his acquiſitions, were convinced that this campaign, ſo much vaunted, was in reality both ruinous and inglorious to him.

In the north, Henry's arms were even more ſucceſsful: the king of Scotland with an army of 50,000 men, after ravaging the frontiers of Northumberland, had encamped on ſome high ground near the hills of Chevior, with 26,000 diſciplined troops; the earl of Surry advanced towards the invaders: by a feigned march towards Berwic, he induced the Scottiſh army to quit their advantageous ſituation: they deſcended from the hills, and as an engagement was now become inevitable, both ſides prepared for it with tranquillity and order. The Engliſh divided their army into two lines: lord Howard led the main body of the firſt line, ſir Edmond Howard the right wing, ſir Marmaduke Conſtable the left. The earl of Surrey himſelf commanded the main body of the ſecond line, lord Dacres the right wing, ſir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots preſented three diviſions to the enemy: the middle was led by the king himſelf: the right by the earl of Huntly, aſſiſted by lord Hume: the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth diviſion, under the earl of Bothwel, made a body of reſerve. Huntley began the battle; and after a ſharp conflict put to flight the left wing of the Engliſh, and chaſed them off the field: but, on returning from the purſuit, he found the whole Scottiſh army in great diſorder. The diviſion under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the ſucceſs of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambaſſador, had ruſhed headlong upon the enemy. Not only ſir Edmond Howard, at the head of his diviſion, received them with great valour; but Dacres, who commanded in the ſecond line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the ſword without re-

reſiſtance. The diviſion under James, and that under Bothwel, animated by the valour of their leaders, ſtill made head againſt the Engliſh, and, throwing themſelves into a circle, protracted the action, till night ſeparated the combatants. The victory ſeemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each ſide were nearly equal, amounting to above 5000 men: but the morning diſcovered where the advantage lay. The Engliſh had loſt only perſons of ſmall note; but the flower of the Scottiſh nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himſelf, after the moſt diligent enquiry, could no where be found. In ſearching the field, the Engliſh met with a dead body which reſembled him, and was arrayed in a ſimilar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and ſent it to London. During ſome time it was kept unburied; becauſe James died under ſentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his oppoſition to the holy ſee: but upon Henry's application, who pretended that this prince had, in the inſtant before his death, diſcovered ſigns of repentance, abſolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, ſtill aſſerted that it was not James's body which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinſton, who had been arrayed in arms reſembling their king's, in order to divide the attention of the Engliſh, and ſhare the danger of his maſter. It was believed that James had been ſeen croſſing the Tweed at Kelſo; and ſome imagined that he had been killed by the vaſſals of lord Hume, whom that nobleman had inſtigated to commit ſo enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion that he was ſtill alive, and having ſecretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would ſoon return and take poſſeſſion of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots.

The king of Scotland and moſt of his chief nobles being ſlain in the field of Flouden, ſo this battle was called, an inviting opportunity was offered

to

to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to ſubjection. But he diſcovered, on this occaſion, a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her ſon, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and took compaſſion of the helpleſs condition of his ſiſter and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him ſo great a victory, was reſtored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the ſide of Richard III. Lord Howard was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favourite, whom he had before created viſcount Liſle, was now raiſed to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolſey, who was both his favourite and his miniſter, was created biſhop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worceſter. Sir Edward Stanley that of lord Monteagle.

Though peace with Scotland enabled Henry to proſecute in tranquility his enterprize againſt France, yet other incidents opened his eyes to the raſhneſs of the undertaking. The Pope, unwilling to puſh the French to extremities, had taken off the ſentence of excommunication. Ferdinand, flattered with the hope of obtaining the ſecond daughter of the French king, with the dutchy of Milan in dowry, either for Charles prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, not only agreed to a truce for a year, but engaged Maximilian in the treaty; and Henry could not but be inſpired with reſentment towards thoſe who had impoſed on his youth and inexperience, and had abuſed his too great facility. A. D. 1514.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made priſoner at Guinegate, was ready to take advantage of this diſpoſition; he repreſented that as Lewis was a widower without male children, no marriage could be more ſuitable to him than that with the princeſs Mary, the ſiſter of Henry: the king ſeemed

to

to hearken to this diſcourſe with willing ears. Longueville informed his maſter of the probability which he diſcovered of bringing the matter to a happy concluſion; and he received full powers for negociating the treaty. The articles were eaſily adjuſted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Richard de la Pole ſhould be baniſhed to Metz, there to live on a penſion aſſigned him by Lewis; that Henry ſhould receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himſelf; and that the princeſs Mary ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heireſs of Brittany. The two princes alſo agreed on the ſuccours with which they ſhould mutually ſupply each other, in caſe either of them were attacked by an enemy.

The eſpouſals of Mary and Lewis were ſoon after celebrated at Abbeville; but that monarch was ſeduced by the beauty of his young queen, into a courſe of pleaſure very unſuitable to his conſtitution; and died three months after the marriage. He was ſucceeded by Francis, duke of Angoulême, a youth of one and twenty, who had married the eldeſt daughter of Lewis. When this happened, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the moſt comely perſonage of his time, and the moſt accompliſhed in all the exerciſes, which were then thought to befit the courtier and a ſoldier, was at the court of France; he was Henry's chief favourite, who had once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his ſiſter; the young dowager aſked Suffolk, whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to eſpouſe her? and ſhe told him, that her brother would more eaſily forgive him for not aſking his conſent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not ſo inviting an offer; and their nuptials were ſecretly celebrated at Paris.

A.D. 1515.

Francis

Francis, who was pleaſed with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his ſiſter, interpoſed his good offices in appeaſing him: and even Wolſey, having entertained no jealouſy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the king's pleaſures, and had no ambition to engage in public buſineſs, was active in reconciling the king to his ſiſter and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permiſſion to return to England.

The ſudden elevation of Wolſey, and his haughty deportment, diſguſted the nation, while it rivetted him faſter in Henry's confidence, who valued himſelf on the choice he had made. He preferred him to the archbiſhopric of York, and allowed him to unite with it the ſees of Durham and of Wincheſter; the Pope, obſerving his influence over the king, created him a cardinal; his train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen; whoever was diſtinguiſhed by any art or ſcience paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public inſtitutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wiſe, he ſtrove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the ſplendour of his equipage and furniture, the coſtly embroidery of his liveries, the luſtre of his apparel. He was the firſt clergyman in England that wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes. He cauſed his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perſon of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A prieſt, the talleſt and moſt comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of ſilver, on whoſe top was placed a croſs: but not ſatisfied with this parade, to which he thought himſelf entitled as cardinal, he provided another prieſt of equal ſtature

and

and beauty, who marched along, bearing the croſs of York, even in the dioceſe of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of theſe rival ſees. The people made merry with the cardinal's oſtentation; and ſaid they were now ſenſible, that one crucifix alone was not ſufficient for the expiation of his ſins and offences.

Warham, chancellor and archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averſe to all diſputes, choſe rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal conteſt with the haughty cardinal. He reſigned his office of chancellor; and the great ſeal was immediately delivered to Wolſey. If this new accumulation of dignity increaſed his enemies, it alſo ſerved to exalt his perſonal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever diſcovered greater impartiality in his deciſions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.

The tranquillity of domeſtic affairs rendered Henry more attentive to the ſtate of Scotland; the late king of Scotland had left his widow regent of the kingdom, but had limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried; a few months after ſhe eſpouſed the earl of Angus; and though ſome of the nobility propoſed electing Angus to the regency, lord Hume, in particular, the moſt powerful of the Scottiſh chieftains, inſiſted on recalling the duke of Albany, ſon to a brother of James III. and firſt prince of the blood.

Albany had never been in Scotland, and was unacquainted with the manners and the ſituation of the people, he applied for information to the inveterate enemies of Hume, who repreſented that powerful nobleman as the chief obſtacle to the execution of the laws. Hume was not long before he perceived the change in Albany's behaviour towards him, and from motives of reſentment, he applied himſelf to

Angus

Angus and the queen dowager; by his perſuaſion, Margaret formed the deſign of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when the conſpiracy was detected, ſhe herſelf withdrew to England.

Hume was ſoon after weak enough to enter into an accommodation with the regent; but he had no ſooner truſted himſelf in the hands of that prince, than he was ſeized, brought to trial, and executed; though the only crime alleged againſt him was his miſbehaviour at the battle of Flouden.

In the mean time, Francis I. had penetrated into Italy, had gained the bloody battle of Marignan, and had conquered Milan; his ſucceſs and glory excited the emulation of Henry; but the ſituation of the other powers of Europe were far from favourable to his views; Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a ſpeedy period was looked for to the long and proſperous reign of that great monarch. Charles prince of Spain, ſovereign of the Low Countries, deſired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it ſo much in his power, if provoked, to obſtruct his peaceable acceſſion to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a cloſe alliance with that monarchy.

At length the death of Ferdinand the Catholic devolved on his grandſon Charles his extenſive dominions; the more the latter advanced in power, the more Francis was ſenſible of the neceſſity of gaining Henry; he had hitherto ſlighted Wolſey; he now courted him with the moſt aſſiduous flattery; he diſpatched Bonnivet, admiral of France, to the court of London, who ſoon procured himſelf a place in the cardinal's good graces; and even prevailed upon him to gratify his maſter in his deſire of recovering Tournay. Wolſey repreſented to the council, the diſtance of Tour- A. D. 1516. 1518.

nay from Calais; that it was ſituated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was expoſed to attacks from both theſe countries, and muſt neceſſarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the firſt aſſailant: that even in time of peace it could not be preſerved without a large garriſon, to reſtrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever diſcontented with the Engliſh government: and that the poſſeſſion of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expenſive, ſo was it entirely uſeleſs, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occaſion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

Theſe reaſons were of themſelves convincing, and were ſure of meeting with no oppoſition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that meaſure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and princeſs Mary, both of them infants, ſhould be betrothed, and that this city ſhould be conſidered as the dowry of the princeſs. Such kinds of agreement were then common among ſovereigns, though it was very rare that the intereſts and views of the parties continued ſo ſteady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at conſiderable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hoſtages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article: and leſt the cardinal ſhould think himſelf neglected in theſe ſtipulations, Francis promiſed him a yearly penſion of twelve thouſand livres, as an equivalent for his adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay.

If we may credit Polydore Virgil, this was not the only ſervice that Wolſey would have rendered Calais: he is reported to have even opened a negociation for the delivery of Calais; but he found it ſo unpopular, that he thought it dangerous to proceed;

ceed; and he was diverted from reſuming the deſign, by the connexions he ſoon after entered into with the king of Spain.

The title of Legate, which was about this time conferred on Wolſey, brought with it a great acceſſion of power and dignity: he erected a court, which he inveſted with a kind of inquiſitorial and cenſorial powers, even over the laity: and directed it to enquire into all actions, which though they eſcaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. The abuſe of this court at length reached the king's ears, and he expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

While Henry, indulging himſelf in pleaſure and amuſement, entruſted the government of his kingdom to this imperious miniſter, an incident happened abroad which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died; a man who, of himſelf, was indeed of little conſequence; but as his death left vacant the firſt ſtation among Chriſtian princes, it ſet the paſſions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue which promiſed them ſucceſs in ſo great a point of ambition. Henry alſo was encouraged to advance his pretenſions; but his miniſter, Pace, who was diſpatched to the electors, found that he began to ſolicit too late, and that the votes of all the princes were already pre-engaged either on one ſide or the other. A. D. 1519.

Francis and Charles made profeſſion from the beginning of carrying on this rivalſhip without enmity; but all men apprehended that this moderation would not be of long duration; and when Charles prevailed, Francis could not help ſeverely feeling his diſappointment in ſo important a pretenſion. Both of them were princes endowed with ta-

lents and abilities; brave, aſpiring, active, warlike; beloved by their ſervants and ſubjects, dreaded by their enemies, and reſpected by all the world; Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying theſe virtues to an exceſs which prejudiced his affairs; Charles, political, cloſe, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain ſucceſs in wars and in negociations, eſpecially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. The king, from his overſights and indiſcretions, naturally expoſed to misfortunes; but qualified by his ſpirit and magnanimity to extricate himſelf from them with honour: the emperor, by his deſigning intereſted character, fitted, in his greateſt ſucceſſes to excite jealouſy and oppoſition even among his allies, and to rouſe up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had ſubdued. And as the perſonal qualities of theſe princes thus counterpoiſed each other, ſo did the advantages and diſadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a ſudden, ſo great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the ſucceſſion of Caſtile, of Arragon, of Auſtria, of the Netherlands: he inherited the conqueſt of Naples, of Grenada: election entitled him to the empire: even the bounds of the globe ſeemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might poſſeſs the whole treaſure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all theſe advantages formed an empire, greater and more extenſive than any known in Europe ſince that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being cloſe, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interpoſed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous oppoſition to his progreſs, and maintain the conqueſt againſt him.

Henry poſſeſſed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its ſituation to hold the balance between thoſe two powers. But

he

he was heedleſs, inconſiderate, capricious, and impolitic. Francis, well acquainted with his character, had ſolicited an interview near Calais, in hopes of being able by familiar converſation to gain upon his confidence. The propoſal was ſeconded by Wolſey: and as Henry loved ſhow and magnificence, he cheerfully adjuſted the preliminaries of the interview.

While Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard the emperor was arrived at Dover. That great prince and politician was apprehenſive of the meeting between Francis and Henry, and to avert the conſequences of it, reſolved to make the latter an higher compliment by paying him a viſit in his own dominions. He here inſtilled into Wolſey the hope of attaining the papacy; and in confidence of reaching this dignity, the cardinal ſecretly devoted himſelf to the intereſts of Charles. A.D. 1520.

The day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with his queen and court; the two monarchs met in a field within the Engliſh pale, between Guiſnes and Ardres. Such was their profuſion as procured to the place the name of the field of the *Cloth of Gold*. Henry propoſed to make ſome amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I Henry, King:* theſe were the firſt words; and he ſtopped a moment. He ſubjoined only the words, *of England*, without adding *France*, the uſual ſtyle of the Engliſh monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expreſſed by a ſmile his approbation of it.

This compliment was ſoon repaid by Francis: that generous prince was ſhocked at the precautions which were obſerved whenever he had an interview with the Engliſh monarch. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, he took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guiſnes. The guards were ſupriſed at the preſence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, *You are all my*

priſoners: carry me to your maſter. Henry was equally aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," ſaid he, "you "have here played me the moſt agreeable trick in "the world, and have ſhowed me the full confidence "I may place in you: I ſurrender myſelf your pri-"ſoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth 15,000 angels; and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry ſhould wear a bracelet, of which he made him a preſent, and which was double in value to the collar. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully eſtabliſhed between the monarchs, they employed the reſt of the time entirely in tournaments and feſtivals.

When Henry took leave of Francis, he paid a viſit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and the artful Charles completed the impreſſion which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite: he renewed aſſurances of aſſiſting the latter in obtaining the papacy; and even put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the revenues belonging to the ſees of Badajox and Placencia.

The violent perſonal emulation between the emperor and the French king ſoon broke out in hoſtilities. Henry, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to ſend their ambaſſadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolſey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well appriſed of the partiality of theſe mediators; and his demands in the conference were ſo unreaſonable, as plainly proved him conſcious of the advantage. He required the reſtitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his poſſeſſion, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: and he demanded to be freed from the homage which his anceſtors had always done for Flan-

ders

ders and Artois, and which he himſelf had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting theſe terms, the congreſs of Calais broke up, and Wolſey, ſoon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the ſame ſtate, magnificence, and reſpect, as if he had been the king of England himſelf; and he concluded, in his maſter's name, an offenſive alliance with the pope and the emperor againſt France. He ſtipulated, that England ſhould next ſummer invade that kingdom with forty thouſand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princeſs Mary, the king's only child, who had now ſome proſpect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the intereſts, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the reſult of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

The people ſaw every new inſtance of the uncontrolled authority of this miniſter. The duke of Buckingham, had A.D. 1521. given diſguſt to the cardinal by ſeveral reflections on the expenſive interview at Guiſnes; he ſeems to have been a man full of levity, and raſh projects; and being infatuated with judicial aſtrology; he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthuſian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was deſcended by a female from the duke of Gloceſter, youngeſt ſon of Edward III. and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been ſo unguarded as to let fall ſome expreſſions, as if he thought himſelf beſt intitled, in caſe the king ſhould die without iſſue, to poſſeſs the royal dignity. He had not even abſtained from threats againſt the king's life, and had provided himſelf with arms, which he intended to employ, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon, the earl of Surrey,

had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord ſteward, in order to preſide at this ſolemn procedure. The jury conſiſted of a duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict againſt Buckingham, which was ſoon after carried into execution.

From this tragical ſcene the minds of the Engliſh were diverted to other events, which indeed engroſſed the attention of the greater part of Europe. Leo X. by his generous and enterpriſing temper, had exhauſted his treaſury, and to repleniſh it, had recourſe to the ſale of indulgences. The produce of this revenue, particularly that which aroſe from Saxony, and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was farmed out to an Italian merchant. The ſcandal of this tranſaction, with the licentious lives which the collectors are reported to have led, rouſed Martin Luther, a profeſſor of the univerſity of Wittemberg, who not only decried the indulgences themſelves, but was thence carried by the heat of diſpute to queſtion the authority of the Pope. Finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them both by writing and diſcourſe; and all Saxony, all Germany, and all Europe, were in a little while filled with the voice of this daring innovator.

As there ſubſiſted in England great remains of the Lollards, the doctrines of Luther ſecretly gained there many partiſans; but Henry had been educated in a ſtrict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice againſt Luther, who in his writings ſpoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author; he oppoſed himſelf, therefore, to the progreſs of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extenſive and almoſt abſolute authority conferred upon him: he even undertook to combat them with weapons not uſually employed by monarchs, eſpecially thoſe in the flower of their age and force of their paſſions. He wrote a book in Latin againſt the principles of Lu-

ther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the ſubject and the age, does no diſcredit to his capacity. He ſent a copy of it to Leo, who received ſo magnificent a preſent with great teſtimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*; an appellation ſtill retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controverſy, ſoon publiſhed an anſwer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagoniſt, treated him with all the acrimony of ſtyle to which in the courſe of his polemics he had ſo long been accuſtomed. The king by this ill uſage was ſtill more prejudiced againſt the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the diſpute. And as the controverſy became more illuſtrious by Henry's entering the liſts, it drew ſtill more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

Leo X. whoſe overſight had given riſe to this ſect, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book againſt Luther; and was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. The latter, who knew that Wolſey had received a diſappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the reſentment of that haughty miniſter, was ſolicitous to repair the breach made in their friendſhip by this incident. He paid another viſit to England: and beſides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolſey all the promiſes which he had made him, of ſeconding his pretenſions to the papal throne. Wolſey, ſenſible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promiſed a ſpeedy vacancy, diſſembled his reſentment, and was willing to hope for a more proſperous iſſue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which ſome articles were added; and he agreed

to

to indemnify both the king and Wolſey for the revenue which they ſhould loſe by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commiſſion for being admiral of his dominions; and he himſelf was inſtalled knight of the garter at London. After a ſtay of ſix weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he ſoon pacified the tumults which had ariſen in his abſence.

The king declared war againſt France; and this meaſure was founded on ſo little reaſon, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refuſal to ſubmit to his arbitration, and his ſending Albany into Scotland. This laſt ſtep had not been taken by the French king, till he was quite aſſured of Henry's reſolution to attack him. Surrey landed ſome troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waſte the country, he ſailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Britanny. which he took and plundered. The Engliſh merchants had great property in that place, which was no more ſpared by the ſoldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral, and ſailed to Calais, where he took the command of the Engliſh army deſtined for the invaſion of France.

A. D. 1522. The French were, however, too prudent to hazard a general engagement, and Surrey having drawn together his forces, laid ſiege to Hedin; but he was far from ſucceſsful in this enterpriſe. The garriſon made vigorous ſallies upon his army: the French forces aſſaulted him from without: great rains fell: fatigue and bad weather threw the ſoldiers into dyſenteries; and Surrey was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or ſix hundred men were cut off; nor could all his

his efforts make him maſter of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more ſucceſsful in Italy, where the French loſt the bloody battle of Bicocca; but on the ſide of Scotland though the regent Albany, firm to his engagements with France, prevailed on his countrymen to take arms againſt England, they obſtinately refuſed to paſs the borders. Albany obſerving their diſcontent, withdrew to France; and in his abſence Surrey, by the command of Henry, ravaged the Merſe and Teviotdale, and burned the town of Jedburg. The king of England, who knew the diſtreſſed ſituation of the Scots, wiſhed to allure them to a ſolemn renunciation of their alliance with France, by the hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heireſs of England, and their young monarch: but the return of the regent broke this project; and by the authority of the ſtates, he aſſembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the Engliſh, in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them ſouthwards towards the borders. But when they were paſſing the Tweed at the bridge of Melroſs, the Engliſh party raiſed again ſuch oppoſition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp oppoſite to Werk-caſtle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He ſent over ſome troops to beſiege this fortreſs, who made a breach in it, and ſtormed ſome of the outworks; but the regent, hearing of the approach of an Engliſh army, and diſcouraged by the advanced ſeaſon, thought proper to diſband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottiſh nation, agitated by their domeſtic factions, were not during ſeveral years in a condition to give any more diſturbance to England; and Henry had full leiſure to proſecute his deſigns on the continent. A. D. 1523.

The

The reaſon why the war proceeded ſo ſlowly againſt France, was the want of money. Henry had cauſed a general ſurvey to be made of his kingdom, and had iſſued his privy ſeal to the moſt wealthy, demanding loans of particular ſums; he ſoon after publiſhed an edict for a general tax upon his ſubjects, which he ſtill called a loan; and he levied five ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, and two ſhillings upon the laity. The parliament, which was ſummoned about this time, was far from complaining of theſe illegal meaſures; more tenacious however of their money than their national privileges, the commons refuſed the demand of the king of 800,000l. divided into four yearly payments; a ſum computed to be equal to four ſhillings in the pound of one year's revenue; and they only voted an impoſition of three ſhillings in the pound on all poſſeſſed of fifty pounds a year and upwards; of two ſhillings on thoſe poſſeſſed of twenty and upwards; one ſhilling on all who enjoyed between twenty pounds and forty ſhillings a year; and on the other ſubjects above ſixteen years of age, a groat a head. The king was ſo diſſatisfied with this ſaving diſpoſition of the commons, that as he had not called a parliament during ſeven years before, he allowed ſeven more to elapſe before he ſummoned another: and on pretence of neceſſity he levied in one year, from all who was worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years; a new invaſion of national privileges. Theſe irregularities were commonly aſcribed to the cardinal's counſels, who, truſting to the protection afforded him by his eccleſiaſtical character, was the leſs ſcrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

That ambitious prelate received this year a new diſappointment in his aſpiring views. The pope Adrian VI. died; and Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolſey could now per-

perceive the inſincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never ſecond his pretenſions to the papal chair. As he highly reſented this injury, he began thenceforth to eſtrange himſelf from the Imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his maſter and the French king. Meanwhile he concealed his diſguſt; and after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legatine powers which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendſhip, granted him a commiſſion for life; and, by this unuſual conceſſion, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In ſome particulars Wolſey made a good uſe of this extenſive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipſwich, the place of his nativity: he ſought, all over Europe, for learned men to ſupply the chairs of theſe colleges: and, in order to beſtow endowments on them, he ſuppreſſed ſome ſmaller monaſteries, and diſtributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the leſs difficult for him, becauſe the Romiſh church began to perceive that ſhe overabounded in monks, and that ſhe wanted ſome ſupply of learning, in order to oppoſe the inquiſitive, or rather diſputative humour of the reformers.

The war with France yet hung in ſuſpenſe; and it was from the treaſon of Charles duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, that the allies expected the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. That prince, who was adorned with every accompliſhment, had ſlighted the advances of Louiſa of Savoy, Francis's mother, and was expoſed to her reſentment. Under pretence of a law-ſuit, he was deprived of his ample poſſeſſions; and provoked at this injuſtice, he had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor and the king of England: while Francis was abſent in Italy, Bourbon propoſed to raiſe an inſurrection among his numerous vaſſals; but the French king got

got intimation of his deſign; and Bourbon was forced to ſeek ſhelter in the emperor's court, where he employed his great talents for war to the prejudice of his native country.

The king of England had awaited the event of this conſpiracy; and it was not till late in the ſeaſon that the duke of Suffolk paſſed over to Calais, and took the field with 12,000 men; theſe were joined by an equal number of Flemings; but he performed nothing worthy recording; and the only acquiſition of the allies was Fonterabia, which was taken by the emperor.

In Italy the French admiral Bonnivet had penetrated into the Milaneſe, which had been left almoſt defenceleſs; but he acted not with ſufficient vigour; Milan ſhut her gates againſt him; and his army, waſted by ſickneſs and diſeaſe, and weakened by the deſertion of a large body of Swiſs, were glad to regain the frontiers of France.

A. D. 1524. A new treaty was ſoon after concluded between Henry and Charles for the invaſion of France. Charles ſtipulated to ſupply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns for the firſt month; after which, he might either chuſe to continue the ſame monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to poſſeſs theſe provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry, as king of France. The duchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: the reſt of the kingdom to Henry.

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was moſt eaſily performed. Bourbon refuſed to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterpriſe, however, againſt Provence, ſtill took place. A numerous army of Imperialiſts invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Peſcara. They laid ſiege to Marſeilles, which, being weakly garriſoned,

riſoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: but the citizens defended themſelves with ſuch valour and obſtinacy, that Bourbon and Peſcara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themſelves under a neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and diſheartened, into Italy.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in ſafety, the glory of repulſing all his enemies; but his ancient ardour ſeized him for the conqueſt of Milan; he paſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and laid ſiege to Pavia, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, defended by Leyva, one of the braveſt officers in the Spaniſh ſervice. Every attempt which the A.D. 1525. French king made to gain this important place proved fruitleſs. Fatigue and the bad ſeaſon had waſted the French army. When Francis was informed of the approach of the imperial army commanded by Bourbon, Peſcara, and Lannoy, theſe leaders, after cannonading the French camp for ſeveral days, at laſt made a general aſſault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva ſallied from the town, and increaſed the confuſion among the beſiegers. The Swiſs infantry, contrary to their uſual practice, behaved in a daſtardly manner, and deſerted their poſt. Francis's forces were put to the rout; and he himſelf, ſurrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing ſeven men with his own hand, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. Almoſt the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either periſhed by the ſword, or were drowned in the river. The few who eſcaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

Henry was ſtartled at this important event, and became inſenſible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loſs of a proper counterpoiſe to the power of Charles. Inſtead of taking advantage, therefore, of the diſtreſſed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him aſſiſtance in his preſent calamities; and, as the glory of generoſity

rosity in raising a fallen enemy, concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

Some disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself *your affectionate son and cousin*; he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself *Charles*. Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions with which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests than the other.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London: but upon the regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her, and, besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he dispatched Tonstal, bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required that Charles

should

ſhould immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in poſſeſſion of that province: and he demanded the payment of large ſums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his laſt viſit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of theſe demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him maſter of ſuch conſiderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tonſtal, likewiſe, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his maſter that Charles, on his part, urged ſeveral complaints againſt England; and, in particular, was diſpleaſed with Henry, becauſe laſt year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his ſtipulations. Tonſtal added, that inſtead of expreſſing an intention to eſpouſe Mary when ſhe ſhould be of age, the emperor had hearkened to propoſals for marrying his niece Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal; and that he had entered into a ſeparate treaty with Francis, and ſeemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the ſucceſs with which fortune had crowned his arms.

The king, influenced by all theſe motives, concluded at Moore, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her ſon his liberty on reaſonable conditions: the regent alſo, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſcharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thouſand crowns: after which Henry was to receive during life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand. A large preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns was alſo made to Wolſey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the penſion granted him for relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of Tournay.

To maintain the approaching war with the emperor, Henry again renewed his impoſitions by way of *benevolence*; the people bore not theſe exactions with

their uſual patience, but their reſiſtance was feeble and ſoon quelled. The odium againſt the cardinal, to whom theſe oppreſſive counſels were attributed, however, increaſed; he had built a ſplendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended for his own reſidence, but fearing the encreaſe of envy on account of this magnificence, he made a preſent of the building to the king; and told him, that from the firſt he had erected it for his uſe.

In the mean time the tranſactions on the continent claimed the conſtant attention of Henry. Soon after the defeat of Pavia, Francis had been removed to the caſtle of Madrid; but the terms demanded as the price of his liberty were ſuch, that he declared himſelf determined to die rather than ſubmit to them. At laſt the emperor, dreading a general combination againſt him, was willing to abate ſomewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was ſigned, by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between theſe great monarchs. The principal condition was the reſtoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages to the emperor for the ceſſion of Burgundy. If any difficulty ſhould afterwards occur in the execution of this laſt article, from the oppoſition of the ſtates either of France or of that province, Francis ſtipulated, that in ſix weeks time he ſhould return to his priſon, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely ſevere upon the captive monarch; and Charles diſcovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to ſubjection and dependance.

A. D. 1524. Many of Charles's miniſters foreſaw that Francis would never execute a treaty ſo deſtructive to himſelf and his country; and that his friends, his ſubjects, and his allies, would inculcate on him, that the firſt object of a prince was the preſervation of his people; nor were they miſtaken in their judgement. Francis

on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud ſeveral times, *I am yet a king*. He ſoon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and proteſting that he ſhould be entirely governed by his counſels in all tranſactions with the emperor. When the Spaniſh envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the propoſal, under colour that it was previouſly neceſſary to aſſemble the ſtates both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their conſent. The ſtates of Burgundy ſoon met; and declaring againſt the clauſe which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expreſſed their reſolution of oppoſing, even by force of arms, the execution of ſo ruinous and unjuſt an article. The imperial miniſter then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, ſhould now return to his priſon; but the French monarch, inſtead of complying, made public the treaty which a little before he had ſecretly concluded at Cognac, againſt the ambitious ſchemes and uſurpations of the emperor.

The Pope, the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates, who were deeply intereſted in theſe events, had been held in the moſt anxious ſuſpenſe with regard to the reſolutions which Francis ſhould take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who ſuſpected that this prince would never execute a treaty ſo hurtful to his intereſts, and even deſtructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in ſuſpenſe, but entered immediately into the confederacy propoſed to him. It was ſtipulated by that king, the Pope,

the Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reaſonable ſum of money, and to reſtore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the *holy league*, ſo it was called: and if Naples ſhould be conquered from the emperor, in proſecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry ſhould enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats; and that cardinal Wolſey, in conſideration of the ſervices which he had rendered to Chriſtendom, ſhould alſo, in ſuch an event, be put in poſſeſſion of a revenue of 10,000 ducats.

A. D. 1527. While Francis was in hopes this confederacy would induce the emperor to relax from the treaty of Madrid, the duke of Bourbon had got poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe: finding that exhauſted country unable to ſupport his troops, he formed the bold deſign of leading them againſt Rome, and was killed as he was planting a ſcaling ladder againſt the walls of that city; but his ſoldiers, rather enraged than diſcouraged by his death, mounted to the aſſault, forced their way ſword in hand, and ſubjected from their brutality the ancient capital of Italy to greater calamities than ſhe had ever endured from the northern barbarians. The Pope, who had truſted for protection to the ſacredneſs of his character, was taken captive; and found his dignity procured him no regard from the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

Henry and Francis, a few days before the ſack of Rome, had concluded a treaty at Weſtminſter, in which, beſides renewing former alliances, they agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ranſom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in caſe of refuſal the ambaſſadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce

nounce war againſt him. This war it was agreed to proſecute in the Low Countries, with an army of 30,000 infantry, and 1500 men at arms; two-thirds to be ſupplied by Francis, the reſt by Henry. And in order to ſtrengthen the alliance between the princes, it was ſtipulated that either Francis, or his ſon the duke of Orleans, as ſhould afterwards be agreed on, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter. No ſooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterpriſe, than they changed, by a new treaty, the ſcene of the projected war, from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther ſtimulated to undertake the war with vigour for reſtoring him to liberty. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert meaſures for that purpoſe; and he diſplayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was ſo much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thouſand horſe. The cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne; Francis himſelf, beſides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving, in every place where he came, liberty to all priſoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced ſome miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary; and as the emperor ſeemed to be taking ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but during the interval of the Pope's captivity to govern the churches in their reſpective dominions by their own authority. Wolſey made ſome attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitleſs, he was obliged, though with great reluctance, to deſiſt from theſe ambitious enterpriſes.

The more to cement the union between theſe princes, a new treaty was ſome time after concluded

London; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often ſerved as a pretence for exciting the unwary Engliſh to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this conceſſion, Francis bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay for ever, fifty thouſand crowns a year to Henry and his ſucceſſors; and that greater ſolemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms ſhould give their aſſent to it. The mareſchal Montmorency, accompanied by many perſons of diſtinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was ſent over to ratify the treaty, and was received at London with all the parade which ſuited the ſolemnity of the occaſion. The terror of the emperor's greatneſs had extinguiſhed the ancient animoſity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more diſtant power, the chief object of jealouſy to the Engliſh.

The cordial union between France and England was not able to bend the emperor; and from the proſecution of the war, Henry's attention was in ſome meaſure directed to his domeſtic ſituation; his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not paſſed without ſcruple; the prejudices of the people were in general bent againſt a conjugal union between ſuch near relations; and the doubts which had aroſe in the mind of Henry were ſtrengthened by other circumſtances.

The queen was older than the king by no leſs than ſix years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diſeaſes, had contributed, notwithſtanding her blameleſs character and deportment, to render her perſon unacceptable to him. Though ſhe had borne him ſeveral children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more ſtruck with this misfortune, becauſe the curſe of being childleſs is

the

the very threatening contained in the Moſaical law againſt thoſe who eſpouſe their brother's widow. The ſucceſſion too of the crown was a conſideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulneſs of Henry's marriage was called in queſtion; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakneſs of her ſex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretenſions, and might throw the kingdom into confuſion. The evils, as yet recent, of civils wars and convulſions ariſing from a diſputed title, made great impreſſion on the minds of men, and rendered the people univerſally deſirous of any event which might obviate ſo irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private paſſions, and by motives of public intereſt, to ſeek the diſſolution of his inauſpicious, and, as it was eſteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury was applied to, and he as well as his brethren, with the exception of the biſhop of Rocheſter, pronounced the king's marriage unlawful; Wolſey alſo fortified the ſcruples of his maſter; and the king was impelled by a motive more forcible than even the ſuggeſtions of that powerful favourite.

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being ſeen by Henry, and of converſing with him, ſhe had acquired an entire aſcendant over his affections. This young lady, whoſe grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her ſo celebrated, was daughter of ſir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in ſeveral embaſſies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather, ſir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had eſpouſed one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Haſtings.

Anne herſelf, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's ſiſter, when the princeſs eſpouſed Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demiſe of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damſel, whoſe accompliſhments, even in her tender years, were always much admired, was retained in the ſervice of Claude queen of France, ſpouſe to Francis; and after the death of that princeſs ſhe paſſed into the family of the ducheſs of Alençon, a woman of ſingular merit. The exact time when ſhe returned to England is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulneſs of his marriage with Catharine; if the account is to be credited which he himſelf afterwards gave of that tranſaction. Henry's ſcruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he ſtill ſupported an intercourſe of civility and friendſhip with her, he had occaſion, in the frequent viſits which he paid her, to obſerve the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accompliſhments of her mind no wiſe inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the deſign of raiſing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this reſolution, when he found that her virtue and modeſty prevented all hopes of gratifying his paſſion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy ſeemed thus to concur in making the king deſirous of a divorce from Catharine, and as his proſpect of ſucceſs was inviting, he reſolved to make application to Clement; and he ſent Knight, his ſecretary, to Rome for that purpoſe.

The Engliſh ſecretary found the Pope, who was ſtill in the hands of the emperor, favourably diſpoſed; and when Clement recovered his liberty, he confirmed his profeſſions, and delivered to the Engliſh miniſters a *commiſſion* to Wolſey as legate, in conjunction with any other Engliſh prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage; he alſo granted

granted them a proviſional *diſpenſation* for the king's marriage with any other perſon; and promiſed to iſſue a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he repreſented to them the dangerous conſequences which muſt enſue to him, if theſe conceſſions ſhould come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publiſh thoſe papers, or make any farther uſe of them, till his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation as to ſecure his liberty and independance. And his ſecret advice was, whenever they ſhould find the proper time for opening the ſcene, that they ſhould prevent all oppoſition, by proceeding immediately to a concluſion, by declaring the marriage with Catharine invalid, and by Henry's inſtantly eſpouſing ſome other perſon. Nor would it be ſo difficult, he ſaid, for himſelf to confirm theſe proceedings after they were paſſed, as previouſly to render them valid by his conſent and authority.

The Engliſh counſellors, however, conſidered this manner of proceeding as too dangerous. Should the Pope diſavow the clandeſtine advice he had given, the king would find his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever. The judgment of Clement, it was well known, was biaſſed by his timidity; the emperor had even affected to call in queſtion his title to the papal throne, nor were menaces the only weapons he employed; he allured him with the hope of reſtoring the influence of his family in Florence; and theſe circumſtances determined the Pope not to explain himſelf more fully. A.D. 1528.

He granted, therefore, a new commiſſion, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolſey; but Campeggio was inſtructed to defer the deciſion by the moſt artful delays. The harangue of the queen was pathetic and affecting; ſhe refuſed to anſwer the citation of the legates; ſhe obſerved, ſhe had been the wife of Henry during twenty years, and would appeal to himſelf, whether her affection-

ate

ate ſubmiſſion to his will had not merited better treatment; and the king, while he urged again his ſcruples, was obliged to confeſs that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife.

The trial had now been ſpun out till the 23d of July; the buſineſs ſeemed drawing to a nearer period, and the king was every day in expectation of a ſentence in his favour; when the menaces and promiſes of Charles proved ſucceſsful, and Clement, in compliance, as he affected, of the queen's appeal, adjourned the cauſe to his own perſonal judgment at Rome.

Wolſey had long foreſeen the meaſure as the forerunner of his ruin; though he had employed himſelf with aſſiduity to bring the ſuit to an happy iſſue, he knew the impatience of Henry's temper, that was wont, to make his miniſters anſwerable for the ſucceſs of thoſe tranſactions with which they were entruſted. Influenced by Anne Boleyn and his own paſſions, the king determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almoſt as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were ſent to require the great ſeal from him, which was delivered to ſir Thomas More. All his furniture and plate were ſeized; and he was ordered to retire to Aſher, a country-ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton-court.

The king ſeemed willing, during ſome time, to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in poſſeſſion of the ſees of York and Wincheſter. He even ſent him a gracious meſſage, accompanied with a ring, as a teſtimony of his affection. Wolſey, who was on horſeback when the meſſenger met him, immediately alighted; and throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, theſe marks of his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards him.

But

But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceaſed plying the king with accounts of his offences; and Henry not only ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, but abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament. He was indicted on an obſolete ſtatute for having procured bulls from Rome; and he was pronounced to be out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his perſon might be committed to cuſtody. But this proſecution of Wolſey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; reſtored him part of his plate and furniture; and ſtill continued from time to time to drop expreſſions of favour and compaſſion towards him.

About this time the complaints againſt the uſurpations of the eccleſiaſtics became ſo prevalent in England, that the commons paſſed ſeveral bills reſtraining their impoſitions. The general peace which took place in Europe, by which Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, enabled Henry to attend, without interruption, to his domeſtic affairs: the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce had often tempted him to break off all connections with the court of Rome; his prerogative was firmly eſtabliſhed at home; his people were diſpoſed to reduce the eccleſiaſtical order; and Anne Boleyn, who was inclined to the reformers, failed not to employ every inſinuation againſt the Pope. Yet Henry dreaded the reproach of hereſy; and having once exerted himſelf in defence of the Romiſh communion, he was aſhamed to retract his former opinions. While he was agitated by theſe contrary motives, an expedient was propoſed, which, as it promiſed a ſolution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jeſus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that univerſity for his learning, and ſtill more for the candour and diſintereſtedneſs of his temper. He fell one evening

evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the buſineſs of the divorce became the ſubject of the converſation, he obſerved that the readieſt way, either to quiet Henry's conſcience, or extort the Pope's conſent, would be to conſult all the univerſities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorſes would naturally ceaſe; if they condemned it, the Pope would find it difficult to reſiſt the ſolicitations of ſo great a monarch, ſeconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Chriſtendom. When the king was informed of the propoſal, he was delighted with it; and ſwore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right ſow by the ear: he ſent for that divine; entered into converſation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and underſtanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in proſecution of the ſcheme propoſed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the univerſities in Europe.

A.D. 1530. The univerſities of France, of Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and Bologna, even thoſe of Oxford and Cambridge, after ſome heſitation, gave a verdict in the king's favour. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid. But Clement, lying ſtill under the influence of the emperor, continued to ſummon the king either by himſelf or proxy; this the latter regarded as an inſult. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltſhire, carried however to the Pope, the king's reaſons for not appearing by proxy; and as the firſt inſtance of diſreſpect from England, refuſed to kiſs his holineſs's foot, which he very graciouſly held out to him for that purpoſe.

The extremities to which Henry was puſhed, both againſt the Pope and the eccleſiaſtical order, were naturally diſagreeable to cardinal Wolſey; and as Henry

Henry foreſaw his oppoſition, it is the moſt probable reaſon that can be aſſigned for his renewing the proſecution againſt his ancient favourite. After Wolſey had remained ſome time at Aſher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a preſent from Henry, in return for Hampton-court: but the courtiers, dreading ſtill his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his ſee of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to reſiſt: he took up his reſidence at Cawood in Yorkſhire, where he rendered himſelf extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hoſpitality; but he was not allowed to remain long unmoleſted in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolſey's eccleſiaſtical character, to arreſt him for high treaſon, and to conduct him to London, in order to take his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was ſeized with a diſorder which turned into a dyſentery; and he was able, with ſome difficulty, to reach Leiceſter-abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much reſpect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never roſe more. A little before he expired, he addreſſed himſelf in the following words to ſir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, who had him in cuſtody: "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto "his royal majeſty, and beſeech him on my behalf "to call to his remembrance all matters that have "paſſed between us from the beginning, eſpecially "with regard to his buſineſs with the queen; and "then will he know in his conſcience whether I have "offended him.

"He is a prince of a moſt royal carriage, and "hath a princely heart; and rather than he will "miſs or want any part of his will, he will endanger "the one half of his kingdom.

"I do

" I do aſſure you, that I have often kneeled be-
" fore him, ſometimes three hours together, to per-
" ſuade him from his will and appetite; but could
" not prevail: had I but ſerved God as diligently
" as I have ſerved the king, he would not have
" given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the
" juſt reward that I muſt receive for my indulgent
" pains and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God,
" but only to my prince. Therefore let me adviſe
" you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by
" your wiſdom you are fit, take care what you put
" into the king's head: for you can never put it out
" again."

Thus died this famous cardinal, whoſe character ſeems to have contained as ſingular a variety as the fortune to which he was expoſed. The obſtinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which ſome of his favourite's meaſures have undergone; and when we conſider, that the ſubſequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolſey's counſels, we ſhall be inclined to ſuſpect thoſe hiſtorians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this miniſter with ſuch violent reproaches.

A. D. 1531, 1532. A new ſeſſion of parliament was held, together with a convocation: from the latter a confeſſion was extorted, that the *king was the protector, and the ſupreme head of the clergy of* England; and in the enſuing parliament, an act was paſſed againſt levying the annates or firſt-fruits; being a year's rent of the biſhoprics that fell vacant; a tax which was impoſed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to conſiderable ſums; it was alſo voted, that any cenſures which ſhould be paſſed by the court of Rome on account of that law, ſhould be entirely diſregarded; and that maſs ſhould be ſaid, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, as if no ſuch cenſures had been iſſued.

Sir

Sir Thomas More the chancellor, foreſeeing that all the meaſures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, deſired leave to reſign the great ſeal; and he deſcended from his high ſtation with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The auſterity of this man's virtue, and the ſanctity of his manners, had nowiſe encroached on the gentleneſs of his temper, or even diminiſhed that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He ſported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high ſtation, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his ſerene and equal ſpirit. While his family diſcovered ſymptoms of ſorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accuſtomed, he drew a ſubject of mirth from their diſtreſſes; and made them aſhamed of loſing even a moment's cheerfulneſs on account of ſuch trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his reſignation with ſome difficulty; and he delivered the great ſeal ſoon after to ſir Thomas Audley.

Henry, now fully determined in his own mind to ſtand to all conſequences, privately celebrated his marriage with Anna Boleyn, whom he had previouſly created marchioneſs of Pembroke: her pregnancy ſoon after gave the king great ſatisfaction; and an act being paſſed againſt all appeals to Rome in cauſes of matrimony and divorces, Henry publicly owned his marriage with Anne, and commanded Catherine, whom he had hitherto treated with reſpect, to ſtyle herſelf hereafter princeſs dowager of Wales. He even, on the delivery of his new queen of a daughter, beſtowed on the infant, who received the name of Elizabeth, the title of princeſs of Wales. A. D. 1533.

On

On intelligence of theſe tranſactions, Clement declared the nullity of Henry's ſecond marriage, and threatened him with excommunication; the mediation of the French, it was hoped, however, would have averted a final rupture between England and the Romiſh church; eſpecially as Clement had promiſed that, if the king would ſend a proxy to Rome, he would appoint commiſſioners to pronounce the ſentence of divorce required: the condition was accepted by Henry; but before the courier who carried his conſent could arrive, news was brought to Rome that a libel had been publiſhed in England againſt the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in deriſion of the Pope and cardinals. The Pope and cardinals entered into the conſiſtory enflamed with anger; and by a precipitate ſentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refuſed to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his uſual prudence, found, that though he heartily repented of this haſty meaſure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the ſame footing as before.

It is not probable that the Pope, had he conducted himſelf with ever ſo great moderation and temper, could hope, during the lifetime of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obſtinate; and having proceeded ſo far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it.

The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation; each preceding ſeſſion had retrenched ſomewhat from the power and profit of the pontiff; and ſeveral important laws had paſſed in this, even before intelligence arrived of the violent reſolution taken at Rome.

All payments made to the apoſtolic chamber; all proviſions, bulls, diſpenſations, were aboliſhed: monaſteries

naſteries were ſubjected to the viſitation and government of the king alone: the law for puniſhing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited from impriſoning or trying any perſon upon ſuſpicion alone, without preſentment by two lawful witneſſes; and it was declared, that to ſpeak againſt the Pope's authority was no hereſy: biſhops were to be appointed by a *congè d'elire* from the crown, or in caſe of the dean and chapter's refuſal, by letters patent; and no recourſe was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or proviſions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Worceſter, which they had hitherto enjoyed: the law which had been formerly made againſt paying annates or firſt-fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to ſuſpend or enforce, was finally eſtabliſhed: and a ſubmiſſion which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this ſeſſion the ſanction of parliament. In this ſubmiſſion the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be aſſembled by the king's authority only; they promiſe to enact no new canons without his conſent; and they agree that he ſhould appoint thirty-two commiſſioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate ſuch as ſhould be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative. An appeal was alſo allowed from the biſhop's court to the king in chancery.

But the moſt important law paſſed this ſeſſion, was that which regulated the ſucceſſion to the crown the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: the primate's ſentence annulling it was ratified: and the marriage with queen Anne was eſtabliſhed and confirmed. The crown was appointed to deſcend to the iſſue of this marriage, and failing them, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewiſe was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of ſucceſſion, under the penalty of impriſonment during the king's pleaſure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all ſlan-

der againſt the king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the penalty of miſpriſion of treaſon. After theſe compliances the parliament was prorogued; and thoſe acts, ſo contemptuous towards the pope, and ſo deſtructive of his authority, were paſſed at the very time that Clement pronounced the haſty ſentence againſt the king. Henry's reſentment againſt queen Catherine, on account of her obſtinacy, was the reaſon why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown; contrary to his firſt intentions when he began the proceſs of divorce, and of diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage.

A. D. 1534. Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas More, were the only perſons of note who ſcrupled the oath of ſucceſſion. More was the perſon of greateſt reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity. He declared he thought the parliament had full power to ſettle the ſucceſſion; but he refuſed the oath preſcribed by law, becauſe the preamble of that oath aſſerted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwel, now ſecretary of ſtate, who highly loved and eſteemed More, entreated him to lay aſide his ſcruples; and their friendly importunity ſeemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refuſal. He perſiſted, however, in a mild though firm manner, to maintain his reſolution; and the king, irritated againſt him as well as Fiſher, ordered both to be indicted upon the ſtatute, and committed priſoners to the Tower.

The parliament being again aſſembled, conferred on the king the title of the only ſupreme *head* on earth of the church of England; as they had already inveſted him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to viſit, and repreſs, redreſs, reform, order, cor-"rect, reſtrain, or amend all errors, hereſies, abuſes, "offences,

"offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell "under any ſpiritual authority, or juriſdiction." They alſo declared it treaſon to attempt, imagine, or ſpeak evil againſt the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a ſubſidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fiſher for miſpriſion of treaſon. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefits of the Engliſh laws.

While Henry proceeded with ſo much order in changing the national religion, he was held in ſome inquietude by the ſtate of affairs in Ireland and Scotland; the young earl of Kildare, reſenting the impriſonment of his father, had taken arms, and joined ſome of the Iriſh nobles: he was however diſappointed in the aſſiſtance he had expected from the emperor; and being obliged to ſurrender, was carried over to England with his five uncles, where all, after a ſhort trial, were executed.

Henry was not equally ſucceſsful in Scotland; the young king James having attained to the age of majority, had taken the reins of government into his own hands. He liſtened coldly to his uncle's propoſal of a conference at Newcaſtle, in which Henry flattered himſelf he ſhould prevail on him to concert meaſures in common for repreſſing the eccleſiaſtics of both kingdoms. To evade this, James obtained a brief from the pope, forbidding him to engage in any perſonal negociations with the enemy of the church; and from theſe meaſures the king of England perceived he could very little depend on the friendſhip of his nephew.

CHAPTER X.

Religious principles.—Maid of Kent.—Trial and execution of Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter—Of ſir Thomas More.—King excommunicated.—Death of queen Catherine.—Diſgrace of queen Anne—Her trial, and execution.—Inſurrection.—Birth of prince Edward, and death of queen Jane.—Cardinal Pole.—Diſputation with Lambert.—Law of the ſix articles.—Succeſſion.—Marriage with Anne of Cleves.—Trial and death of Cromwel.—King divorced from Anne of Cleves.—His marriage with Catherine Howard.—Diſcovery of the queen's diſſolute life.—War with Scotland.—Death of James V.—Treaty with Scotland.—Rupture with France.—Affairs of Scotland.—Peace with France and Scotland.—Execution of the earl of Surrey.—Attainder of the duke of Norfolk.—Death of the king—His character.

A. D. 1534. THOUGH Henry had, in conjunction with the inclinations of his people, rejected the authority of the ſee of Rome, he was by no means diſpoſed to encourage the opinions of the reformers. The republican ſpirit which had ariſen amongſt the latter, combined with his diſlike to Luther, who had treated him with ſevere freedom in controverſy, to confirm his averſion to the proteſtants. Separate as he ſtood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he ſtill valued himſelf on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and ſword the imagined purity of his ſpeculative principles.

Henry's miniſters and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and ſeemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by intereſt

as

as well as inclination, favoured the cauſe of the reformers: Cromwel, who was created ſecretary of ſtate, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the ſame views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ſecretly adopted the proteſtant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendſhip by his candour and ſincerity; virtues which he poſſeſſed in as eminent a degree as thoſe times, equally diſtracted with faction and oppreſſed by tyranny, could eaſily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created biſhop of Wincheſter, had inliſted himſelf in the ſame party; and the ſuppleneſs of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely uſeful to it.

The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled by the courtſhip paid him both by proteſtants and catholicks, to aſſume an unbounded authority; and though in all his meaſures he was driven really by his ungoverned humour, he caſually ſteered a courſe which led more certainly to arbitrary power than any which the moſt profound politics could have traced out to him.

The ambiguity of his conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, ſerved in the main to encourage the proteſtant doctrine among his ſubjects: the writings of the Lutherans were privately imported into England; and a tranſlation of the Scripture, by Tindal, an Engliſhman who had fled from the king's diſpleaſure to Antwerp, increaſed the number of converts; and was juſtly deemed one of the moſt fatal blows to the eſtabliſhed faith.

Though ſeveral perſons were brought to the ſtake for their adherence to the proteſtant doctrines, yet Henry knew his moſt formidable enemies were the

monks, who having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain conſequence of aboliſhing his authority in England. Some of theſe were detected in a conſpiracy that proved fatal to themſelves. Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the *Holy Maid of Kent*, had been ſubject to hyſterical fits, which threw her body into unuſual convulſions; and having produced an equal diſorder in her mind, made her utter ſtrange ſayings, which, as ſhe was ſcarcely conſcious of during the time, had ſoon after entirely eſcaped her memory. The ſilly people in the neighbourhood were ſtruck with theſe appearances, which they imagined to be ſupernatural; and Richard Maſters, vicar of the pariſh, a deſigning fellow, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and conſideration. He went to Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he ſo far wrought on that prudent but ſuperſtitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future ſayings. The regard paid her by a perſon of ſo high a rank ſoon rendered her ſtill more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was eaſy for Maſters to perſuade them, as well as the maid herſelf, that her ravings were inſpirations of the Holy Ghoſt. Knavery, as is uſual, ſoon after ſucceeding to deluſion, ſhe learned to counterfeit trances; and ſhe then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, ſuch ſpeeches as were dictated to her by her ſpiritual director.

Maſters aſſociated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and though their deſign at firſt was only to raiſe the credit of an image of the Virgin, finding their impoſture ſucceeded, they extended their views, and taught their penitent to declaim againſt the new doctrines, and to prophecy the death of the king if he perſiſted in his intended divorce from Catherine. Henry at length began to think

think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arreſted, they confeſſed, and ſuffered for their guilt. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the propheteſs's miracles was detected; and even the ſcandalous proſtitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Thoſe paſſions which ſo naturally inſinuate themſelves amidſt the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different ſexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was ſaid to have been miraculouſly opened, in order to give her acceſs to the chapel, for the ſake of frequent converſe with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Maſters for leſs refined purpoſes.

The detection of this impoſture hurt the credit of the monks; the king, to take vengeance on them ſuppreſſed, three monaſteries; and finding the little clamour excited by this act of power, he was more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile he exerciſed puniſhments on individuals who were obnoxious to him: the parliament had made it treaſon to deprive the king of his dignity or titles; they had lately added to his other titles that of ſupreme head of the church: it was inferred, that to deny his ſupremacy was treaſon; many priors and eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives for this new ſpecies of guilt; and Henry, impelled by his violent temper, and deſirous of ſtriking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded to make examples of Fiſher and More. A.D. 1535.

John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, ſtill more than for his eccleſiaſtical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into priſon on account of his refuſing the oath which regarded the ſucceſſion, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treaſonable ſpeeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues,

but ſtripped of his very clothes, and without conſideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which ſcarcely ſufficed to cover his nakedneſs. In this condition he lay in priſon above a twelvemonth; when the Pope, willing to recompenſe the ſufferings of ſo faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fiſher was ſo indifferent about that dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not ſtoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his oppoſition to royal authority, rouſed the indignation of the king; and he reſolved to make the innocent perſon feel the effects of his reſentment. Fiſher was indicted for denying the king's ſupremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

The execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whoſe compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiouſly deſired by the king. That prince alſo bore as great perſonal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the ſport of paſſions, was ſuſceptible of towards a man who in any particular oppoſed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion ſo contrary to his principles as that of the king's ſupremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpoſe. Rich, the ſolicitor-general, was ſent to confer with More, then a priſoner, who kept a cautious ſilence with regard to the ſupremacy: he was only inveigled to ſay, that any queſtion with regard to the law which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was a two-edged ſword: if a perſon anſwer one way, it will confound his ſoul; if another, it will deſtroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treaſon againſt the priſoner. His ſilence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and theſe words, which had caſually dropped from him, were interpreted as a de-

a denial of the ſupremacy. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: the jury gave ſentence againſt More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him againſt the terrors of death. Not only his conſtancy, but even his cheerfulneſs, nay his uſual facetiouſneſs, never forſook him; and he made a ſacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the ſame indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, "Friend, "help me up, and when I come down again let me "ſhift for myſelf." The executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my "neck is ſo ſhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner ſtay till he put aſide his beard: "for," ſaid he, "it never committed "treaſon." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cauſe, more free from weakneſs and ſuperſtition. But as the man followed his principles and ſenſe of duty, however miſguided, his conſtancy and integrity are not the leſs objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

When the intelligence of theſe executions was carried to Rome, Paul III. who had ſucceeded Clement in the apoſtolic chair, excommunicated the king and his adherents, deprived Henry of his crown, and gave his kingdom to any invader.

Henry was but little alarmed at theſe meaſures; he knew the emperor, whoſe enmity alone he had reaſon to apprehend, was at that time hard preſſed by the Turks and the proteſtant princes of Germany; and an incident which happened ſoon after ſeemed to open the way for a reconciliation between himſelf and Charles. Queen Catherine was ſeized with a lingering illneſs, which at laſt brought her to her grave: ſhe died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before ſhe expired, A. D. 1536.

ſhe

ſhe wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which ſhe gave him the appellation of *her moſt dear lord, king, and huſband.* She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, ſhe laid hold of this laſt opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptineſs of all human grandeur and enjoyment: that though his fondneſs towards theſe periſhable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himſelf much trouble, ſhe yet forgave him all paſt injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: and that ſhe had no other requeſt to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the ſole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and ſervants. She concluded with theſe words, *I make this vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things.* The king was touched even to the ſhedding of tears, by this laſt tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is ſaid to have expreſſed her joy for the death of a rival, beyond what decency or humanity could permit.

The emperor thought that, as the demiſe of his aunt had removed all perſonal animoſity between him and Henry, it might not be impoſſible to detach him from the alliance of France; but his advances were received with coldneſs, and the ill ſucceſs that he met in his invaſion of Provence, ſerved to render the king of England more indifferent to his proffered friendſhip.

Henry, conſcious of the advantages of his ſituation, at laſt determined to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, and to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of their ample revenues. He delegated his ſupremacy to Cromwel, who was then ſecretary of ſtate; who employed commiſſioners to enquire into the conduct and deportment of all the friars. The reports of theſe were moſt unfavourable; and, if we may credit the ſuſpicious evidence they collected, monſtrous diſorders prevailed in many of the religious houſes; whole convents

of

of women abandoned to lewdneſs; ſigns of abortion procured, of infants murdered, and of unnatural luſt between perſons of the ſame ſex.

Some few monaſteries, terrified with this rigorous inquiſition carried on by Cromwel and his commiſſioners, ſurrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received ſmall penſions as the reward of their obſequiouſneſs. Orders were given to diſmiſs ſuch nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whoſe vows were on that account ſuppoſed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to ſuch as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who deſired it. But as all theſe expedients did not fully anſwer the king's purpoſe, he had recourſe to his uſual inſtrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the viſitors was publiſhed, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation againſt inſtitutions which to their anceſtors had been the objects of the moſt profound veneration.

The king, though determined utterly to aboliſh the monaſtic orders, reſolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at preſent, than to ſuppreſs the leſſer monaſteries, which poſſeſſed revenues below two hundred pounds a year. Theſe were found to be the moſt corrupted, as lying leſs under the reſtraint of ſhame, and being expoſed to leſs ſcrutiny; and it was deemed ſafeſt to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and ſeventy-ſix monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thouſand pounds a year, were granted to the king; beſides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thouſand pounds more. It does not appear that any oppoſition was made to this important law: ſo abſolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's re-

venue, was erected for the management of theſe funds. The people naturally concluded, from the circumſtance, that Henry intended to proceed in deſpoiling the church of her patrimony.

The act formerly paſſed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commiſſioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the preſent perplexity of that law increaſed his authority, and kept the clergy in ſtill greater dependance.

Farther progreſs was made in completing the union of Wales with England: the ſeparate juriſdictions of ſeveral great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obſtructed the courſe of juſtice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were aboliſhed; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some juriſdictions of a like nature in England were alſo aboliſhed this ſeſſion.

The commons, ſenſible that they had gained nothing by oppoſing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to ſecure the profits of wardſhips and liveries, were now contented to frame a law, ſuch as he dictated to them. It was enacted, That the poſſeſſion of land ſhall be adjudged to be in thoſe who have the uſe of it, not in thoſe to whom it is transferred in truſt.

After all theſe laws were paſſed, the king diſſolved the parliament: a parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but alſo for the long time it had ſitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it ſo obſequious to his will that he did not chuſe, during thoſe religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the ſame parliament above ſix years: a practice at that time unuſual in England.

The convocation alſo ſat during this ſeſſion; and a great point was gained by the reformers, in a vote being

being paſſed for publiſhing a new tranſlation of the ſcriptures.

But while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their proſperity, they met with a ſevere mortification in the fate of their patroneſs Anne Boleyn, who loſt her life by the rage of her furious conſort. Her having been delivered of a dead ſon, had diſappointed Henry in his extreme fondneſs for male iſſue. Though ſhe appears to have been really innocent, her levity of manners, and her familiarity with perſons who were formerly her equals, had offended the king's dignity. The viſcounteſs Rocheford, a profligate woman, who was married to the queen's brother, inſinuated the moſt cruel ſuſpicions into Henry's mind; ſhe pretended that her own huſband was engaged in a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter; Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the chamber, together with Mark Smeton, were obſerved to poſſeſs much of the queen's friendſhip. The king whoſe love was already tranferred to Jane, daughter of ſir John Seymour, laid hold of the ſlighteſt circumſtance which his jealouſy could fix on, and vented his fury on all within his reach. In a tilting at Greenwich the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident, probably caſual, but interpreted by the king as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her paramours: he immediately arreſted Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Rocheford; and ordered the queen next day to be carried to the Tower.

Anne, conſcious of his unrelenting ſpirit, prepared for the melancholy doom which awaited her: while ſhe aſſerted her innocence, ſhe confeſſed every expreſſion which could be tortured into imprudence. From the Tower ſhe wrote to him a letter full of the moſt tender expoſtulations; but this letter had no influence on his obdurate mind, who was determined to pave the way for his intended marriage with Jane Seymour, by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weſton, Brereton and Smeton, were tried;

but no legal evidence was produced againſt them. The chief proof of their guilt conſiſted in a hearſay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeaton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confeſs a criminal correſpondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confeſſion; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were alſo Brereton and Weſton. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confeſs his crime, and accuſe the queen: but he generouſly rejected the propoſal; and ſaid, that in his conſcience he believed her entirely guiltleſs: but for his part he could accuſe her of nothing, and he would rather die a thouſand deaths than calumniate an innocent perſon.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; the chief evidence amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been ſeen to lean on her bed before ſome company. Part of the charge was, that ſhe had affirmed the king never had her heart, *which was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the king and her.* By this ſtraining interpretation her guilt was brought under the ſtatute of the 25th of this reign; though unaſſiſted by council, ſhe defended herſelf with great preſence of mind; and the ſpectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given againſt her and Rocheford; when the dreadful ſentence was pronounced ſhe was not terrified; but lifting up her hands to heaven, ſaid, "O Father, O Creator, "thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, "thou knoweſt that I have not deſerved this fate!" She was, however, afterwards prevailed on to confeſs ſome lawful impediment to their marriage, in hopes of ſoothing Henry, who was determined to annul it, and to declare her iſſue illegitimate.

She ſoon found how vain thoſe hopes were, and pre-

prepared for the death to which ſhe was ſentenced. She ſent her laſt meſſage to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which ſhe owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: from a private gentlewoman, ſhe ſaid, he had firſt made her a marchioneſs, then a queen, and now, ſince he could raiſe her no higher in this world, he was ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven. She then renewed the proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; and continued to behave herſelf with her uſual ſerenity, and even with cheerfulneſs. "The "executioner," ſhe ſaid to the lieutenant, "is, I "hear, very expert; and my neck is very ſlender:" upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and ſmiled. When brought, however, to the ſcaffold, ſhe ſoftened her tone a little with regard to her proteſtations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obſtinacy of queen Catherine, and her oppoſition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary: her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in theſe laſt moments over that indignation which the unjuſt ſentence by which ſhe ſuffered naturally excited in her. She ſaid that ſhe was come to die, as ſhe was ſentenced by the law: ſhe would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and if any one ſhould think proper to canvas her cauſe, ſhe deſired him to judge the beſt. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was ſent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower.

The

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot be called in queſtion; and the king made the moſt effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour, the very day after the execution. The parliament had the meanneſs to join in gratifying his lawleſs paſſions; his divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified by that aſſembly; the iſſue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and the crown was ſettled on the king's iſſue by Jane Seymour, or any ſubſequent wife; and in caſe he ſhould die without children, he was empowered by his will to diſpoſe of the crown.

The convocation were not leſs obſequious: according to the wiſhes of Henry, they determined the ſtandard of faith to conſiſt in the ſcriptures, and the three creeds, the Apoſtolic, Nicene, and Athanaſian; and this article was a ſignal victory to the reformers: auricular confeſſion and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as ſacraments; and in this omiſſion the influence of the proteſtants appeared: the real preſence was aſſerted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: the terms of acceptance were eſtabliſhed to be the merits of Chriſt, and the mercy and good pleaſure of God, ſuitably to the new principles.

Theſe articles were formed by the convocation, corrected by the king, and ſubſcribed by every member of that aſſembly; while perhaps not one man could be found, except Henry himſelf, who had adopted preciſely theſe doctrines. But he made every vote of his parliament and convocation ſubſervient, not only to his intereſts and paſſions, but even to his caprices.

The multitude were leſs tractable. The expelled monks, wandering about, excited both the piety and compaſſion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, ſuited to vulgar minds, it was able, now it was brought in apparent hazard, to raiſe the ſtrongeſt zeal in its favour. The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire; and

conſiſted

conſiſted of 20,000 men; but on the appearance of the duke of Suffolk, at the head of ſome regular forces, and ſecret aſſurances of pardon, they diſperſed, and only a few of their leaders were executed.

But in the North, the revolt aſſumed a more ſerious appearance; the inſurgents were led by Aſke, a gentleman who poſſeſſed the art of governing the populace. Their enterpriſe they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*; they took an oath that their only motives were the love of God; their care of the king's perſon and iſſue; their deſire of purifying the nobility, of reſtoring the church, and of ſuppreſſing hereſy: allured by theſe pretences, forty thouſand hardy enthuſiaſts marched beneath a banner which repreſented the five wounds of Chriſt; and the countenance of the arch biſhop of York, and lord Darcy, gave conſequence to the rebellion.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general againſt the rebels, and after an ineffectual attempt at accomodation, A. D. 1537. the latter determined to paſs a river in their front, and attack with ſuperior numbers the royal army; they were twice diſappointed in this deſign by violent falls of rain, which ſwelled the ford. Their minds, prone to ſuperſtition, were deeply affected by theſe occurrences; many of them diſperſed; the remainder engaged in the ſiege of Carliſle, where they were repulſed, and ſoon after routed by Norfolk. Aſke, and lord Darcy, with many of the chiefs, were put to death; and an amneſty, which was publiſhed ſhortly afterwards, united the minds of the people.

Soon after this proſperous ſucceſs, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a ſon, who was baptiſed by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happineſs without alloy: the queen died two days after. But a ſon had ſo long been ardently wiſhed for by Henry, and was now become ſo neceſſary, in order to prevent diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, after the acts declaring the two princeſſes illegitimate, that the king's affliction

was drowned in his joy, and he expreſſed great ſatisfaction on the occaſion. The prince, not ſix days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Cheſter; ſir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Hertford; ſir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; ſir William Paulet, lord St. John; ſir John Ruſſel, lord Ruſſel.

A. D. 1538. The happy ſituation of Henry's reign and domeſtic affairs, combined with his rapacity to produce the entire deſtruction of the monaſteries; a new viſitation of them was appointed; and the abbots and monks, who knew nothing could withſtand the king's will, were induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary reſignation of their houſes. At different times the king ſuppreſſed ſix hundred and forty-five monaſteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a ſeat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels: a hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty one thouſand one hundred pounds. It is worthy of obſervation, that all the lands and poſſeſſions and revenue of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; ſo that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the leſſer monaſteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: a ſum vaſtly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were uſually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themſelves as a ſpecies of proprietors, took always care to renew their leaſes before they expired.

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of theſe violences; and men much queſtioned whether priors and monks, who were only truſtees

or

or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their eſtates. In order to reconcile the people to ſuch mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occaſion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear during war as well as peace the whole charges of government. While ſuch topics were employed to appeaſe the populace, Henry took an effectual method of intereſting the nobility and gentry in the ſucceſs of his meaſures: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or ſold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very diſadvantageous terms. He was ſo profuſe in theſe liberalities, that he is ſaid to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate. He alſo ſettled penſions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly penſion of eight marks: he erected ſix new biſhoprics, Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter; of which five ſubſiſt at this day: and by all theſe means of expence and diſſipation the profit which the king reaped by the ſeizure of church lands fell much ſhort of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreſeen ſome years before it happened, the monks had taken care to ſecure moſt of their ſtock, furniture, and plate; ſo that the ſpoils of the great monaſteries bore not in theſe reſpects any proportion to thoſe of the leſſer.

Beſide the lands poſſeſſed by the monaſteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a conſiderable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes annexed to them; and theſe were alſo at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means paſſed into the hands of laymen: an abuſe which many zealous churchmen regarded as the moſt criminal ſacrilege.

Theſe acts of violence were received with extreme

indignation by the court of Rome; and Henry was frequently reproached with his reſemblance to the emperor Julian. Amongſt thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the defence of the church, was Reginald Pole, deſcended from the royal family, being fourth ſon of the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence: he gave, in early youth, indications of a fine genius; and Henry, who intended to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities, conferred on him the deanery of Exeter. Though Pole had declined taking any part in the king's divorce, Henry bore this neglect with ſingular patience; he allowed him ſtill to poſſeſs his deanery, gave him permiſſion to finiſh his ſtudies at Padua; and even deſired his opinion relative to the meaſures he had taken for aboliſhing the papal authority. Pole replied by writing a treatiſe on the *unity of the church*, in which he inveighed againſt the king's ſupremacy, his divorce, his ſecond marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the imperial family, and to the catholic cauſe. Henry, though provoked beyond meaſure at this outrage, diſſembled his reſentment; and he ſent a meſſage to Pole, deſiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain paſſages in his book, which he found ſomewhat obſcure and difficult. Pole was on his guard againſt this inſidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was univerſally beloved.

Pole was ſoon after raiſed by the Pope to the dignity of a cardinal; and conſcious of Henry's enmity, engaged in every intrigue againſt him: he is even ſuſpected of having aſpired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correſpondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conſpiracy with him; ſir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; ſir Nicholas Carew, maſter of horſe and knight of the

the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and ſir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. Theſe perſons were indicted and tried and convicted before lord Audley, who preſided in the trial as high ſteward: they were all executed except ſir Geogrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having firſt carried to the king ſecret intelligence of the conſpiracy. We know little concerning the juſtice or iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt theſe men: we only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time proſecuted by the court forms no preſumption of his guilt; though, as no hiſtorian of credit mentions in the preſent caſe any complaint occaſioned by theſe trials, we may preſume that ſufficient evidence was produced againſt the marquis of Exeter and his aſſociates.

Henry was ſo much governed by paſſion, that nothing could have ſtopped his oppoſition againſt Rome, but ſome other object of animoſity. Though he had gradually been changing the tenets of that theological ſyſtem, in which he had been educated, he was no leſs dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been unſhaken. The point on which he chiefly reſted his orthodoxy happened to be real preſence; and all departure from this principle he held to be heretical and deteſtable.

Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter of London, had preſumed to draw up his objections to the corporal preſence, under ten ſeveral heads: when cited before Cranmer and Latimer, theſe prelates endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were ſurpriſed when, inſtead of complying, he appealed to the king.

Henry was not diſpleaſed at an opportunity of exerting his ſupremacy, and diſplaying his learning. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the liſts with the ſchoolmaſter: ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall for the accomodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, ac-

companied with all the enſigns of majeſty: the prelates were placed on his right-hand; the temporal peers on his left: the judges and moſt eminent lawyers had a place aſſigned them behind the biſhops: the courtiers of greateſt diſtinction behind the peers: and in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions againſt his royal antagoniſt.

The biſhop of Chicheſter opened the conference, by ſaying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his biſhop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that though his majeſty had thrown off the uſurpation of the ſee of Rome; had diſincorporated ſome idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee hive; had aboliſhed the idolatrous worſhip of images; had publiſhed the Bible in Engliſh, for the inſtruction of all his ſubjects; and had made ſome leſſer alterations, which every one muſt approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity all departure from it: and that he had taken the preſent opportunity, before ſo learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors: but if he ſtill continued obſtinate in them, he muſt expect the moſt condign puniſhment.

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king aſked Lambert, with a ſtern countenance, what his opinion was of Chriſt's corporeal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar; and when Lanbert began his reply with ſome compliment to his majeſty, he rejected the praiſe with diſdain and indignation. He afterwards preſſed Lambert with arguments drawn from ſcripture and the ſchoolmen. The audience applauded the force of his reaſoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer ſeconded his proofs by ſome new topics: Gardiner

diner entered the liſts as a ſupport to Cranmer: Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokeſley brought freſh aid to Tonſtal: ſix biſhops more appeared ſucceſſively in the field after Stokeſley: and the diſputation, if it deſerves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abaſhed, was at laſt reduced to ſilence. The king then returning to the charge, aſked him whether he were convinced? and he propoſed as a concluding argument, this intereſting queſtion, Whether he were reſolved to live or to die? Lambert, who poſſeſſed that courage which conſiſts in obſtinacy, replied, that he caſt himſelf wholly on his majeſty's clemency: the king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel, as vicegerent, pronounced the ſentence againſt him.

Lambert, whoſe vanity had probably incited him the more to perſevere on account of the greatneſs of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the puniſhment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the ſufferings of a man who had perſonally oppoſed the king, as cruel as poſſible: he was burned at a ſlow fire; his legs and thighs were conſumed to the ſtumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, ſome of the guards, more merciful than the reſt, liſted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was conſumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud ſeveral times, *None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt*; and theſe words were in his mouth when he expired.

Soon after this a parliament was ſummoned: and after a ſhort prorogation, the A. D. 1539. bill of the *ſix articles*, or the bloody bill, as the proteſtants juſtly termed it, was introduced, and having paſſed the two houſes, received the royal aſſent.

In this law the doctrine of the real preſence was eſtabliſhed, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chaſtity, the utility of private maſſes, the celibacy of the clergy, and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion. The denial of the firſt article with regard to the real preſence, ſubjected the perſon to death by fire, and to the ſame forfeiture as in caſes of treaſon; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: an unheard of ſeverity, and unknown to the inquiſition itſelf. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was puniſhable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and impriſonment during the king's pleaſure: an obſtinate adherence to error, or a relapſe, was adjudged to be felony, and puniſhable with death. The marriage of prieſts was ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment. Their commerce with women was, on the firſt offence, forfeiture and impriſonment; on the ſecond, death. The abſtaining from confeſſion, and from receiving the euchariſt at the accuſtomed times, ſubjected the perſon to fine and impriſonment during the king's pleaſure; and if the criminal perſevered after conviction, he was puniſhable by death and forfeiture, as in caſes of felony. Commiſſioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into theſe hereſies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

The parliament having thus reſigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire ſurrender of their civil. By one act they gave to the king's proclamation, the ſame force as to a ſtatute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worſe, if poſſible, they framed this law, as if it was only declaratory, and was intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority.

Immediately on the death of Jane Seymour, Henry began to think of a new marriage. His friendſhip for Francis induced him to think of a French princeſs; and he propoſed to Francis that

they

they ſhould have a conference at Calais, on pretence of buſineſs; and that this monarch ſhould bring along with him the two princeſſes of Guiſe, together with the fineſt ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant ſpirit of Francis was ſhocked with the propoſal: he was impreſſed with too much regard, he ſaid, for the fair ſex, to carry ladies of the firſt quality like geldings to a market there to be choſen or rejected by the humour of the purchaſer. Henry would hearken to none of theſe niceties, but ſtill inſiſted on his propoſal; which, however, notwithſtanding Francis's earneſt deſire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

The king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and, as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely diſguſted with the emperor on account of his perſecuting their religion, he hoped, by marching himſelf into one of their families, to renew a connexion which he regarded as ſo advantageous to him. Cromwel joyfully ſeconded this intention; and propoſed to him Anne of Cleves, whoſe father, the duke of that name, had great intereſt among the Lutheran princes, and whoſe ſiſter, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the proteſtant league. A flattering picture of the princeſs by Hans Holbein determined Henry to apply to her father; and after ſome negociation, the marriage, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the elector of Saxony, was at laſt concluded; and Anne was ſent over to England. The king, impatient to be ſatisfied with regard to the perſon of his bride, came privately to Rocheſter, and got a ſight of her. He found her big indeed, and tall, as he could wiſh; but utterly deſtitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and repreſentations which he had received: he ſwore ſhe was a great Flanders mare; and declared that he never could poſſibly bear her any affection. The matter was worſe when he found that ſhe could

ſpeak

ſpeak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her converſation were not likely to compenſate for the homelineſs of her perſon. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to lord Ruſſel, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Anthony Denny. This laſt gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private perſons, chuſe for themſelves; but muſt receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

A. D. 1540. It was the ſubject of debate among the king's counſellors, whether the marriage might not be diſſolved, and the princeſs be ſent back to her own country. But the apprehenſion which at that time prevailed of an intimate connection between Charles and Francis, rendered an alliance with the German princes requiſite, for the ſafety of Henry; and he knew that if he ſent back the princeſs of Cleves, ſuch an affront would be highly reſented by her friends and family. He was therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding his averſion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that ſince matters had gone ſo far, he muſt put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own intereſts were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his ſpouſe any better. The king told him that he hated her worſe than ever; and that her perſon was more diſguſting on a near approach: he was reſolved never to meddle with her; and even ſuſpected her not to be a true maid: a point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even ſeemed to repoſe his uſual confidence in Cromwel; created him earl of Eſſex, and inſtalled him knight of the garter.

But the king's favour to Cromwel, and his acquieſcence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both

both of them deceitful appearances: his averſion to the queen ſecretly increaſed every day; and having at laſt broken all reſtraint, it prompted him at once to ſeek the diſſolution of a marriage ſo odious to him, and to involve his miniſter in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwel was haſtened by other cauſes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of ſuch low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his ſtation of vicar-general, but had engroſſed many of the other conſiderable offices of the crown: beſides enjoying that commiſſion, which gave him a high and almoſt abſolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy ſeal, chamberlain, and maſter of the wards: he had alſo obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illuſtrious families, and which ſeemed to be profaned by its being communicated to ſo mean a perſon. The people were averſe to him, as the ſuppoſed author of the violence on the monaſteries; eſtabliſhments which were ſtill revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: the proteſtants, obſerving his exterior concurrence with all the perſecutions exerciſed againſt them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands ariſen againſt the adminiſtration, was not diſpleaſed to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred; and he hoped by making ſo eaſy a ſacrifice, to regain the affections of his ſubjects.

But there was another cauſe which ſuddenly ſet all theſe motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the miniſtry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new paſſion, he could find no expedient but by procuring a divorce from his preſent conſort,

to

to raiſe Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the ſame uſe of her inſinuations to ruin this miniſter, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's againſt Wolſey: and when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commiſſion from the king to arreſt Cromwel at the council-table, on an accuſation of high treaſon, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed againſt him; and the houſe of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the univerſe. The houſe of commons paſſed the bill, though not without ſome oppoſition. Cromwel was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon; but the proofs of his treaſonable practices are utterly improbable, and even abſolutely ridiculous. The only circumſtance of his conduct by which he ſeems to have merited this fate was his being the inſtrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting like inquitous bills in the preceding ſeſſion, againſt the counteſs of Saliſbury and others.

Cromwel endeavoured to ſoften the king by the moſt humble ſupplications; but all to no purpoſe: it was not the practice of that prince to ruin his miniſters and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy priſoner once wrote to him in ſo moving a ſtrain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himſelf againſt all movements of pity, and refuſed his pardon. The concluſion of Cromwel's letter ran in theſe words: "I, a moſt woeful priſoner, am ready to ſubmit to death when it ſhall "pleaſe God and your majeſty; and yet the frail "fleſh incites me to call to your grace for mercy "and pardon of mine offences. Written at the "Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand "of your highneſs's moſt miſerable priſoner, and "poor ſlave, Thomas Cromwel." And a little below, "Moſt gracious prince, I cry for mercy,

"mercy,

"mercy, mercy." When brought to the place of execution, he avoided all earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and all complaints againſt the ſentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would reſent on his ſon thoſe ſymptoms of oppoſition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, induſtry, and abilities; worthy of a better maſter and of a better fate. Though raiſed to the ſummit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no inſolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had ſerved as a private centinel in the Italian wars; when he received ſome good offices from a Lucqueſe merchant, who had entirely forgotten his perſon, as well as the ſervice which he had rendered him. Cromwel in his grandeur happened at London to caſt his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He immediately ſent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendſhip, and by his grateful aſſiſtance reinſtated him in his former proſperity and opulence.

The meaſures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the ſame time with the bill of attainder againſt Cromwel. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; and Henry pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce. The convocation was ſatisfied with the reaſon; the parliament ratified the deciſion of the clergy; and Anne, who was bleſt with an happy inſenſibility of temper, willingly hearkened to an accommodation with Henry; and when he offered to adopt her as his ſiſter, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a ſettlement of three thouſand pounds a year upon her; ſhe accepted of the conditions, and gave her conſent to the divorce. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead), that ſhe had been very well uſed in England, and deſired him to live on

good

good terms with the king. The only inſtance of pride which ſhe betrayed was, that ſhe refuſed to return to her own country after the affront which ſhe had received; and ſhe lived and died in England.

The alliance which Henry ſoon after contracted with the emperor, and his marriage with Catherine Howard, were regarded by the catholics as favourable incidents to their party; and the king's councils being now directed by Norfolk, and Gardiner, a furious perſecution was commenced againſt the proteſtants; and the law of the ſix articles was executed with rigour.

A. D. 1541. Though the ſpirit of the Engliſh ſeemed to be totally ſunk under the deſpotic power of Henry, there appeared ſome ſymptoms of diſcontent: an inconſiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkſhire, headed by ſir John Nevil; but it was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, were executed. The rebels were ſuppoſed to have been inſtigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole, and the king was inſtantly determined to make the counteſs of Saliſbury, who already lay under ſentence of death, ſuffer for her ſon's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution; and this venerable matron maintained ſtill, in theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the ſpirit of that long race of monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended. She refuſed to lay her head on the block, to ſubmit to a ſentence where ſhe had received no trial. She told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he muſt win it the beſt way he could: and thus, ſhaking her venerable grey locks, ſhe ran about the ſcaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitleſs blows at her neck before he was able to give the fatal ſtroke. Thus periſhed the laſt of the line of Plantagenet, which with great glory, but ſtill greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the ſpace of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered ſervice to the crown, was alſo beheaded for treaſon

treaſon ſoon after the counteſs of Saliſbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his proſecution.

The ſpirit of religious innovation which had ſeized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland; the nobility alſo, from the example of England, had caſt a wiſhful eye on the church revenue; and Henry had never ceaſed exhorting his nephew James to imitate his conduct; he had ſolicited him to meet him at York; and had even obtained a promiſe for that purpoſe. The eccleſiaſtics were alarmed at this reſolution; they repreſented the danger of putting himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh, his hereditary enemies; they pointed out to him the confiſcation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thouſand pounds a-year to the crown revenues. The inſinuations of his new queen, whoſe youth, beauty, and addreſs had given her a powerful influence over him, ſeconded all theſe reaſons; and James was at laſt engaged firſt to delay his journey, then to ſend excuſes to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be preſent at the interview.

Henry, vexed with the diſappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance againſt his nephew: and he began, by permitting piracies at ſea and incurſions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received ſoon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more ſenſible, and which touched him in a point where he always ſhewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himſelf very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable perſon and diſpoſition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no ſecret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned ſolemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal ſtate afforded him; and he directed the biſhop of Lincoln to compoſe a form of prayer for that purpoſe. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderneſs:

one

one Laſcelles brought intelligence of her diſſolute life to Cranmer: and told him that his ſiſter, formerly a ſervant in the family of the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them ſervants to the dutcheſs, had been admitted to her bed; and ſhe had even taken little care to conceal her ſhame from the other ſervants of the family. The primate, ſtruck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to diſcover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter ſhould by no means be buried in ſilence; and the archbiſhop himſelf ſeemed the moſt proper perſon to diſcloſe it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to ſpeak on ſo delicate a ſubject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely aſtoniſhed at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his conſort, that at firſt he gave no credit to the information; and he ſaid to the privy-ſeal, to lord Ruſſel high admiral, ſir Anthony Brown, and Wriotheſley, that he regarded the whole as a falſehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous ſituation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable deſtruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealouſy, prompted him to ſearch the matter to the bottom: the privy-ſeal was ordered to examine Laſcelles, who perſiſted in the information he had given; and ſtill appealed to his ſiſter's teſtimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Suſſex, where the woman at that time reſided: he found her both conſtant in her former intelligence, and particular to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arreſted at the ſame time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confeſſion; and diſcovered other particulars, which redounded ſtill more to her

diſhonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her ſecrets, and ſome of them had even paſſed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was ſo deeply affected that he remained a long time ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. He found, to his ſurpriſe, that his great ſkill in diſtinguiſhing a true maid, of which he boaſted in the caſe of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his preſent conſort. The queen being next queſtioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full diſcovery was made, ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been criminal before marriage; and only inſiſted that ſhe had never been falſe to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had paſſed the night with her alone ſince her marriage; and as it appeared that ſhe had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her ſervice, ſhe ſeemed to deſerve little credit in this aſſeveration; and the king, beſides, was not of a humour to make any difference between theſe degrees of guilt.

Henry found that he could not by any means ſo fully or expeditiouſly ſatiate his vengeance on all theſe criminals, as by aſſembling a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny. The two houſes, having received the queen's confeſſion, made an addreſs to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were ſubject; but to conſider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from theſe views to derive a ſubject of conſolation. They deſired leave to paſs a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his aſſent to this bill, not in perſon, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. And as there was a law in force, making it treaſon to ſpeak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any

of them ſhould, on the preſent occaſion, have tranſgreſſed any part of the ſtatute.

Having obtained a gracious anſwer to theſe requeſts, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treaſon againſt the queen, and the viſcounteſs of Rocheford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were alſo comprehended. At the ſame time they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſprifion of treaſon againſt the old ducheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine perſons more; becauſe they knew the queen's vicious courſe of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's uſual extravagance, to expect that parents ſhould ſo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the ſentiments of ſhame and decency, as to reveal to him the moſt ſecret diſorders of their family. He himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible of the cruelty of this proceeding: for he pardoned the dutcheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon.

However, to ſecure himſelf for the future, as well as his ſucceſſors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to paſs a law ſomewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, that any one who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days diſcloſe it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law againſt defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the ſame time from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering it to others: it was alſo enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon if ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this ſingular clauſe, and ſaid, that the king muſt henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded

ſuaded to incur the penalty of the ſtatute. After all theſe laws were paſſed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner ſuitable to their diſſolute life: and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief inſtrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, ſhe died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the diſcovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable ſentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, employed his commiſſioners A. D. 1542. to ſelect a ſyſtem of tenets; and a ſmall volume was ſoon after publiſhed, called the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the ſtandard of orthodoxy; yet Henry was not long ſatisfied with this work; he ordered a new book to be compoſed, called the *Erudition of a Chriſtian Man:* without aſking the conſent of the convocation, he publiſhed it by his own authority and that of parliament; and though it differed from the inſtitution, he was no leſs poſitive in his new creed than he had been in his old, and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his ſignal.

A monarch ſo imperious, was not likely to paſs over the conduct of the king of Scots, in ſlighting the advances which he had made him; as ſoon as he thought himſelf in a condition to invade Scotland, he publiſhed a manifeſto, by which he endeavoured to juſtify hoſtilities. He complained of James's breach of word, of his harbouring rebels and fugitives, and he revived the old claim of vaſſalage, and ſummoned him to do him homage as his liege lord and ſuperior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the ſcourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and that nobleman with twenty thouſand men paſſed the Tweed at Berwic, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelſo; but on the approach of James at the head of

thirty thouſand men, the Engliſh repaſſed the river, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a deſire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the ſignal for purſuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was ſurpriſed to find that his nobility, who was in general diſaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, oppoſed this reſolution, and refuſed to attend him in his projected enterpriſe. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but ſtill reſolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impreſſion on the enemy. He ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway Frith; and he himſelf followed them at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion. Diſguſted, however, at the refractory diſpoſition of his nobles; he ſent a meſſage to the army, depriving lord Maxwel, their general, of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely diſguſted with this alteration, and was ready to diſband, when a ſmall body of Engliſh appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Mulgrave. A panic ſeized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout, for it was no action; but a great many were taken priſoners, and ſome of the principal nobility: among theſe the earls of Caſſilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all ſent to London, and given in cuſtody to different noblemen.

The king of Scots, hearing of this diſaſter, was aſtoniſhed; and being naturally of a melancholic diſpoſition, as well as endowed with a high ſpirit, he loſt all command of his temper on this diſmal occaſion. Rage againſt his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; ſhame for a defeat by ſuch unequal numbers; regret for the paſt, fear of the future;

future; all theſe paſſions ſo wrought upon him, that he would admit of no conſolation, but abandoned himſelf wholly to deſpair. His body was waſted by ſympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no iſſue living; and hearing that his queen was ſafely delivered, he aſked, whether ſhe had brought him a male or a female child? being told the latter; he turned himſelf in his bed: "The crown came with "a woman," ſaid he, "and it will go with one: "many miſeries await this poor kingdom: Henry "will make it his own either by force of arms or "by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of conſiderable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and perſonal courage, for repreſſing thoſe diſorders to which his kingdom during that age was ſo much expoſed. He executed juſtice with impartiality and rigour; but as he ſupported the commonalty and the church againſt the rapine of the nobility, he eſcaped not the hatred of that order. The proteſtants alſo, whom he oppoſed, have endeavoured to throw many ſtains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any conſiderable imputation upon him.

Henry was no ſooner informed of this victory, and of the death of his nephew, A. D. 1543. than he projected the ſcheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his ſon Edward to the heireſs of that kingdom. The Scottiſh nobles who were his priſoners readily aſſented to the propoſal; to forward this, they were permitted, on delivering hoſtages, to return to Scotland, where they found affairs in much confuſion.

To check the new opinions which were ſpreading in Scotland, the pope had beſtowed on Beaton the primate, who acted as miniſter to James, the dignity of cardinal. Upon the death of his maſter, this man forged, it is ſaid, a will for the king, appointing himſelf, and three more, regents of the kingdom. During the minority of the infant princeſs, by virtue

of this will, he excluded the pretenſions of James, earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, who by his grandmother, daughter to James the III. was next heir to the crown. A new revolution was favourable to Arran: the ſuſpicion of Beaton's forgery, with the acceſſion of the noblemen from England, turned the balance for him: he was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to cuſtody under the care of lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced with ſir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen ſhould remain in Scotland till ſhe ſhould be ten years of age; that ſhe ſhould then be ſent to England to be educated; that ſix Scottiſh noblemen ſhould immediately be delivered as hoſtages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithſtanding its union with England, ſhould ſtill retain its laws and privileges. By means of theſe equitable conditions the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with ſuch diſmal calamities, ſeemed to be fully compoſed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

But the cardinal-primate having prevailed on Seton to reſtore him to his liberty, was able, by the aſſiſtance of the church, to confound all theſe meaſures. He repreſented the union with England as the certain ruin of the ancient religion; the national antipathy of the Scots to their ſouthern neighbours, was alſo an infallible engine in his hands; and as ſoon as he found a war with England unavoidable, he determined to apply to France. His demands could not have been more unreaſonable to Francis, who had been engaged in a fruitleſs ſtruggle with the emperor for the Milaneſe. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, ſent him over to his native country,

as

as a ſupport to the cardinal and the queen-mother; and he promiſed that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould ſoon be diſpatched after him. Arran the governor, ſeeing all theſe preparations againſt him, aſſembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the perſon of the infant queen into his cuſtody; but being repulſed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entruſt that precious charge to four neutral perſons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areſkines, Lindſeys, and Levingſtones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, ſerved to render the victory of the French party over the Engliſh ſtill more indiſputable.

The French intrigues in Scotland induced Henry to form a cloſe league with the emperor, who earneſtly courted his alliance. This league, beſides ſtipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of 25,000 men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the ſums which he owed him, and to conſign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a ſecurity for the regular payment of his penſion for the future: in caſe theſe conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the dutchy of Burgundy, and ſome other territories. That they might have a pretence for enforcing theſe claims, they ſent a meſſage to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Chriſtendom had ſuſtained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refuſal, war was declared againſt him by the allies. It may be proper to remark, that the partiſans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no leſs obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman:

and they obſerved, that this league was a breach of the ſolemn promiſe which he had given to Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

For the projected war with France, the parliaments granted Henry a ſubſidy to be paid in three years, not exceeding three ſhillings in the pound; the convocation gave him ſix ſhillings in the pound. In the mean time, his marriage with Catherine Par, widow of Nevil, lord Latimer, a woman of virtue, and ſomewhat inclined to the new doctrines, gave the reformers hopes. The king's league with the emperor ſeemed a circumſtance no leſs favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained ſtill nearly balanced between the factions.

The confederacy between Henry and Charles were productive of no conſiderable immediate advantage; Francis even wreſted Landrecy from the emperor; and from the continent, the attention of the king of England was directed to the affairs of Scotland. Arran was of an indolent and unambitious character; he had loſt his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the proteſtants his inveterate enemies, by reconciling himſelf to the Romiſh communion; he had even entered into an accommodation with the cardinal, who, having gained the confidence of the queen-dowager, ſaw nobody able to oppoſe him but the earl of Lenox.

The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran, made the intereſts of theſe two noblemen incompatible; the former, diſappointed in the hopes he had formed of marrying the queen-dowager, had retired to Dumbarton, had entered into a correſpondence with the Engliſh court; and having collected an army of 10,000 men, he threatened his enemies with immediate deſtruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppoſe to him; but as he was a prudent man, he foreſaw that Lenox could not long ſubſiſt ſo great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening

ing a negotiation with him. He ſeduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglaſſes to change party; he repreſented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: and Lenox, obſerving the unequal conteſt in which he was engaged, was at laſt obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Preſent peace was reſtored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his caſtles, and putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, waited the arrival of the Engliſh ſuccours, from whoſe aſſiſtance alone he expected to obtain the ſuperiority over his enemies.

While the winter reſtrained Henry from military operations, he ſummoned a new parliament, which, after declaring the prince of Wales or any of the king's male iſſue were firſt heirs to the crown, reſtored the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of ſucceſſion; but ſuch was Henry's caprice, while he opened a way for theſe princeſſes to aſcend the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reverſed which had declared them illegitimate. A.D. 1544.

An act paſſed, declaring that the king's uſual ſtyle ſhould be "King of England, France, and Ire-"land, defender of the faith, and on earth the ſu-"preme head of the church of England and Ireland." It ſeemed a palpable inconſiſtency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cauſe againſt Luther; and yet ſubjoin his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy in oppoſition to the claims of that court.

The reluctance which parliament had always ſhewn to ſubſidies, determined the king not to hazard a refuſal. To fill his exchequer, he raiſed the value of gold and ſilver; he coined baſe money; he named commiſſioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about ſeventy thouſand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London, a man ſome-

ſomewhat advanced in years, having refuſed to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commiſſioners, was inrolled as a foot-ſoldier in the Scottiſh wars, and was there taken priſoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into priſon, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large compoſition.

Theſe extortions enabled Henry to invade Scotland with a fleet and army. The fleet conſiſted of near two hundred veſſels, and carried on board 10,000 men. Lord Liſle commanded the ſea-forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were diſembarked near Leith; and, after diſperſing a ſmall body which oppoſed them, they took that town without reſiſtance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were ſoon beaten down (for little or no reſiſtance was made); and the Engliſh firſt pillaged, and then ſet fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppoſe ſo great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eaſtward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the eaſt marches, he laid waſte the whole country, burned and deſtroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England; having loſt only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected ſome forces; but finding that the Engliſh were already departed, he turned them againſt Lenox, who was juſtly ſuſpected of a correſpondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making ſome reſiſtance, was obliged to fly into England, where Henry ſettled a penſion on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox ſtipulated conditions, by which, had he been able to execute them, he muſt have reduced his country to total ſervitude.

This incurſion inflamed, without ſubduing the ſpirits of the Scots; but the reaſon of Henry recalling his troops ſo ſoon, was his league with the emperor, in which thoſe two princes had engaged to invade France with above 100,000 men. Henry was to ſet

out

out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: they were to enter on no ſiege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conqueſt of the kingdom. Francis could not oppoſe to theſe formidable preparations much above 40,000 men.

Neither Charles nor Henry adhered however to this plan. The emperor having taken Commercy and Ligny, inveſted St. Diſier on the Maine; and Henry, having divided his forces, formed himſelf the ſiege of Boulogne, while that of Montrueil was carried on by the duke of Norfolk. Vervin was governor of Boulogne, and under him Philip Corſe, a brave old ſoldier, who encouraged the garriſon to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity againſt the Engliſh. He was killed during the courſe of the ſiege, and the town was immediately ſurrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin, who was afterwards beheaded for this diſhonourable capitulation.

During the courſe of this ſiege Charles had taken St. Diſier; and finding the ſeaſon much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, ſince all his ſchemes for ſubduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deſerting his ally, he ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the ſiege of Boulogne to raiſe it with honour, and that the emperor himſelf had firſt broken the concert by beſieging St. Diſier. This anſwer ſerved Charles as a ſufficient reaſon for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He ſtipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's ſecond ſon; and Francis in return withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all

claim

claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, ſo advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the deciſive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialiſts at Ceriſolles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great deſire to turn his arms againſt the proteſtant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to ſeparate from the Engliſh in Picardy; and Henry, finding himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign ſerved to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of ſenſe concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterpriſes, made, at a great expence, an acquiſition which was of no importance.

A. D. 1545. The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly and with various ſucceſs; with 15,000 men Arran ravaged the eaſt borders of England, and returned with his booty; and the earl of Hertford in revenge laid waſte the middle, and Weſt Marches.

Nor was the war againſt France maintained with more vigour; Henry, to defend his poſſeſſions there, had levied 14,000 Germans. But the emperor would not allow them a paſſage through his dominions; they received intelligence of a ſuperior army on the ſide of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and of pay, ſoon produced a mutiny among them: and having ſeized the Engliſh commiſſaries as a ſecurity for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There ſeems to have been ſome want of foreſight in this expenſive armament.

The great expence of theſe two wars maintained by Henry, obliged him to ſummon a new parliament. The commons granted him a ſubſidy, payable in two years, of two ſhillings a pound on land: the ſpirituality voted him ſix ſhillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehenſive leſt more demands ſhould be made upon them, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's

people's property: by one vote they beſtowed on the king all the revenues of the univerſities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels, and hoſpitals. Henry was pleaſed with this conceſſion, as it increaſed his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he ſoon took care to inform the univerſities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus theſe ancient and celebrated eſtabliſhments owe their exiſtence to the generoſity of the king, not to the protection of this ſervile and proſtitute parliament.

Henry employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and A.D. 1546. he ſent over the earl of Hertford and lord Liſle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of 9000 men, two-thirds of which conſiſted of foreigners. Some ſkirmiſhes of ſmall moment enſued with the French; and no hopes of any conſiderable progreſs could be entertained by either party. Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was not violent, had given ſufficient vent to his humour by this ſhort war; and finding that from his great increaſe in corpulence and decay in ſtrength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was deſirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewiſe, on his part, was not averſe to peace with England; becauſe having lately loſt his ſon the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foreſaw that hoſtilities muſt ſoon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commiſſioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a ſmall place between Andres and Guiſnes, the articles were ſoon agreed on, and the peace ſigned by them. The chief conditions were, that Henry ſhould retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis ſhould be paid. This debt was ſettled at two millions of livres, beſides a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards to be adjuſted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war

which coſt him above one million three hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling, was a bad and a chargeable ſecurity for a debt which was not a third of the value.

Henry, freed from foreign wars, was at leiſure to give his attention to domeſtic affairs; he was prevailed on to permit the Litany to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and Cranmer took the advantage of Gardiner's abſence on an embaſſy to the emperor, to attempt to draw him into farther innovations: but Gardiner having written to the king, that if he carried his oppoſition againſt the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the ſucceſs of Cranmer's projects was for ſome time retarded. Cranmer loſt this year the moſt ſincere and powerful friend that he poſſeſſed at court, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk: the queen-dowager of France, conſort to Suffolk, had died ſome years before. This nobleman is one inſtance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and ſteady friendſhip; and Suffolk ſeems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earlieſt youth, he had enjoyed with his maſter. The king was ſitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to expreſs his own ſorrow for the loſs, and to celebrate the merits of the deceaſed. He declared, that during the whole courſe of their friendſhip, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adverſary, and had never whiſpered a word to the diſadvantage of any perſon. "Is there any of you, my lords, "who can ſay as much?" When the king ſubjoined theſe words, he looked round in all their faces, and ſaw that confuſion which the conſciouſneſs of ſecret guilt naturally threw upon them.

Cranmer himſelf, when bereaved of this ſupport, was the more expoſed to thoſe cabals of the courtiers, which the oppoſition in party and religion, joined to the uſual motives of intereſt, rendered ſo frequent among Henry's miniſters and counſellors.

The catholics took hold of the king by his paſſion for orthodoxy; and they repreſented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better ſucceſs, it was altogether owing to the primate, whoſe example and encouragement were, in reality, the ſecret ſupports of hereſy. Henry, ſeeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and deſired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promiſing that, if he were found guilty, he ſhould be committed to priſon, and brought to condign puniſhment. Every body now conſidered the primate as loſt; and his old friends, from intereſted views, as well as the oppoſite party from animoſity, began to ſhow him marks of neglect and diſregard. He was obliged to ſtand ſeveral hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at laſt called in, he was told, that they had determined to ſend him to the Tower. Cranmer ſaid, that he appealed to the king himſelf; and finding his appeal diſregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the ſevereſt terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: but he was determined to cruſh all their cabals, and to teach them, by the ſevereſt diſcipline, ſince gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his ſervice. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and ſaid, that their only intention was to ſet the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a ſign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more ſincere on his part, than is uſual in ſuch forced compliances.

Though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered all accuſa-

accuſation againſt him vain, his declining health induced him to puniſh with ſeverity every other perſon who differed from him in opinion; Ann Aſcue, a young lady of merit as well as beauty, and who was connected with the queen herſelf, was accuſed of dogmatizing on the real preſence. Henry, inſtead of ſhewing indulgence to her ſex and age, threw her into priſon. The chancellor Wriotheſely, who had ſucceeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was ſent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court; ſhe maintained a laudable fidelity; and though put to the torture, her conſtancy on the rack baffled the barbarity of her perſecutors: ſhe was ſentenced to be burned alive with four others condemned for the ſame crime; ſuch was their zeal, that they refuſed at the ſtake the pardon that was offered, on condition of recantation; and they ſaw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames that conſumed them.

Though the ſecrecy and fidelity of Ann Aſcue ſaved the queen from this peril, that princeſs ſoon after fell into a new danger, from which ſhe narrowly eſcaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than uſually peeviſh and paſſionate. The queen attended him with the moſt tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured by every ſoothing art and compliance to allay thoſe guſts of humour to which he was become ſo ſubject. His favourite topic of converſation was theology; and Catherine, whoſe good ſenſe enabled her to diſcourſe on any ſubject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being ſecretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, ſhe unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on theſe occaſions. Henry, highly provoked that ſhe ſhould preſume to differ from him, complained of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praiſed the king's anxious

con-

concern for preſerving the orthodoxy of his ſubjects; and repreſented, that the more elevated the perſon was who was chaſtiſed, and the more near to his perſon, the greater terror would the example ſtrike into every one, and the more glorious would the ſacrifice appear to poſterity. The chancellor being conſulted, was engaged by religious zeal to ſecond theſe topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counſellors, went ſo far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up againſt his conſort. Wriotheſely executed his commands; and ſoon after brought the paper to him to be ſigned: for as it was high-treaſon to throw ſlander upon the queen, he might otherwiſe have been queſtioned for his temerity. By ſome means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was ſenſible of the extreme danger to which ſhe was expoſed; but did not deſpair of being able, by her prudence and addreſs, ſtill to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her uſual viſit to the king, and found him in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He entered on the ſubject which was ſo familiar to him; and he ſeemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the converſation, and remarked that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex. Women, ſhe ſaid, by their firſt creation, were made ſubject to men: the male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: it belonged to the huſband to chuſe principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all caſes, to adopt implicitly the ſentiments of her huſband: and as to herſelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleſt with a huſband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chuſe principles for his own family, but for the moſt wiſe and knowing of every nation. "Not ſo! by St. Mary," replied the

king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and "better fitted to give than receive inſtruction." She meekly replied, that ſhe was ſenſible how little ſhe was entitled to theſe praiſes; that though ſhe uſually declined not any converſation, however ſublime, when propoſed by his majeſty, ſhe well knew, that her conceptions could ſerve to no other purpoſe than to give him a little momentary amuſement; that ſhe found the converſation apt to languiſh, when not revived by ſome oppoſition, and ſhe had ventured ſometimes to feign a contrariety of ſentiments, in order to give him the pleaſure of refuting her, and that ſhe alſo purpoſed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics whence ſhe had obſerved by frequent experience that ſhe reaped profit and inſtruction. "And is it ſo, "ſweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we "perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and ſent her away with aſſurances of his protection and kindneſs. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this ſudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, purſuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were converſing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the purſuivants. The king ſpoke to him at ſome diſtance from her; and ſeemed to expoſtulate with him in the ſevereſt manner: She even overheard the appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beaſt*, which he liberally beſtowed upon that magiſtrate; and then ordered him to depart his preſence: ſhe afterwards interpoſed to mitigate his anger: he ſaid to her, "Poor ſoul! you know "not how ill entitled this man is to your good "offices." Thenceforth the queen having narrowly eſcaped ſo great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whoſe malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour and good opinion.

But the duke of Norfolk was not ſo fortunate. His

His high rank, the reputation he had acquired at Flouden, and in ſuppreſſing the rebellion in the North, with his attachments to the Catholic religion, combined to render him obnoxious to Henry, who foreſaw danger during his ſon's minority from the attempts of ſo potent a ſubject. His ſon Surrey had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by every accompliſhment which became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. In every maſque and tournament, he celebrated the praiſes of his miſtreſs by his pen and his lance; his ſpirit and ambition were equal to his talents. But when left governor of Boulogne he had been unſucceſsful in ſome rencounters with the French; and his having declined the hand of the daughter of the earl of Hertford, had raiſed a ſuſpicion that he carried his view to the eſpouſing of the lady Mary.

Actuated by theſe motives, Henry gave private orders to arreſt Norfolk and Surrey, and they were on the ſame day confined in the Tower. Surrey was accuſed of entertaining in his family ſome Italians who were *ſuſpected* to be ſpies, of correſponding with cardinal Pole, and of quartering on his ſcutcheon the arms of Edward the Confeſſor, a practice which had been juſtified by the authority of the heralds. Theſe were the crimes for which a jury, notwithſtanding his eloquent defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treaſon; and their ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him. A.D. 1547.

The innocence of Norfolk, was, if poſſible, ſtill more apparent than that of his ſon; yet the houſe of peers, without evidence, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt him, and ſent it down to the commons. The king was now approaching faſt towards his end; and fearing leſt Norfolk ſhould eſcape him, he ſent a meſſage to the commons, by which he deſired them to haſten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marſhal, and it was neceſſary to appoint another, who might officiate at the enſuing ceremony of inſtalling his ſon prince of Wales.

The obſequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on ſo frivolous a pretence; and the king having affixed the royal aſſent to the bill by commiſſioners, iſſued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himſelf had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought adviſable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greateſt nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a ſentence ſo unjuſt and tyrannical.

The king's health had long been in a declining ſtate; but for ſeveral days all thoſe near him plainly ſaw his end approaching. He was become ſo froward, that no one durſt inform him of his condition; and as ſome perſons during this reign had ſuffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death, every one was afraid leſt in the tranſports of his fury he might on this pretence puniſh capitally the author of ſuch friendly intelligence. At laſt ſir Anthony Denny ventured to diſcloſe to him the fatal ſecret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expreſſed his reſignation; and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for: but before the prelate arrived he was ſpeechleſs, though he ſtill ſeemed to retain his ſenſes. Cranmer deſired him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt: he ſqueezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years and nine months; and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

The king had made his will near a month before his demiſe, in which he confirmed the deſtination of parliaments, by leaving the crown firſt to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth. The two princeſſes he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting the title to the crown, not to marry without conſent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor ſon. After

ter his own children, he ſettled the ſucceſſion on Frances Brandon, marchioneſs of Dorſet, eldeſt daughter of his ſiſter the French queen; then on Eleanor, counteſs of Cumberland, the ſecond daughter.

It is difficult to give a juſt ſummary of this prince's qualities: he poſſeſſed great vigour of mind, courage, vigilance, and inflexibility; theſe were accompanied by good parts, and an extenſive capacity. He was ſincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable, at leaſt, of a temporary attachment and friendſhip; yet a catalogue of his crimes would comprehend many of the worſt qualities incident to human nature: cruelty, profuſion, rapacity, injuſtice, obſtinacy, arrogance, bigotry, and preſumption. It is extraordinary that, notwithſtanding his extortion, and arbitrary adminiſtration, he not only acquired the regard of his ſubjects, but never was the object of their hatred: he ſeems even in ſome degree to have poſſeſſed to the laſt their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: his magnificence and perſonal bravery rendered him illuſtrious in vulgar eyes: and it may be ſaid with truth, that the Engliſh in that age were ſo thoroughly ſubdued, that like eaſtern ſlaves they were inclined to admire thoſe acts of violence and tyranny which were exerciſed over themſelves, and at their own expence.

There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which ſhews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the ſovereign. This duty had been voted to every king ſince Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it ſix years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments aſſembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or reſtrain him from levying it. At laſt the parliament reſolved to give him that ſupply; but even in this conceſſion

they plainly ſhow themſelves at a loſs to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himſelf to levy it. They ſay that the impoſition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king and no longer: they yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the preſent king; they obſerve that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet made no ſcruple to call that impoſition the king's due: they affirm, that he had ſuſtained great and manifold loſſes by thoſe who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy they vote him that ſupply during his life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithſtanding this laſt clauſe, all his ſucceſſors for more than a century perſevered in the like irregular practice: if a practice may deſerve that epithet in which the whole nation acquieſced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the ſame courſe which had now received the ſanction of many generations, ſo much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempeſt was excited by it; and hiſtorians, partial or ignorant, ſtill repreſent this meaſure as a moſt violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

It was not till the end of this reign that any ſallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots, were produced in England. The little of theſe vegetables that was uſed, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catherine, when ſhe wanted a ſallad, was obliged to diſpatch a meſſenger thither on purpoſe. The uſe of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

There is a remarkable clauſe in a ſtatute paſſed near the beginning of this reign, by which we might be induced to believe that England was extremely decayed from the flouriſhing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magiſtrate

ſtrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep aſſize, ſhould during the continuance of his magiſtracy, ſell, either in wholeſale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law ſeemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the aſſize: yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reaſon aſſigned is, that "ſince the making of "that ſtatute and ordinance, many and the moſt "part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns cor-"porate, within the realm of England, are fallen "in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by mer-"chants, and men of ſuch ſubſtance as at the time "of making that ſtatute: for at this day, the dwell-"ers and inhabitants of the ſame cities and boroughs "are commonly bakers, vintners, fiſhmongers, "and other victuallers, and there remain few others "to bear the offices." Men have ſuch a propenſity to exalt paſt times above the preſent, that it ſeems dangerous to credit this reaſoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to ſupport it. So different are the views in which the ſame object appears, that ſome may be inclined to draw an oppoſite inference from this fact. A more regular police was eſtabliſhed in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a ſtricter adminiſtration of juſtice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolſey, in a ſpeech to parliament, repreſented it as a proof of the increaſe of riches, that the cuſtoms had increaſed beyond what they were formerly.

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and induſtry, and populouſneſs in England, the ſtatutes of this reign, except by aboliſhing monaſteries, and retrenching holidays, circumſtances of conſiderable moment, were not in other reſpects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted; luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated ſtatutes; and

probably without effect. The chancellor and other miniſters were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheeſe, and butter. A ſtatute was even paſſed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal. Beef and pork were ordered to be ſold at a halfpenny a pound: mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the ſtatute ſays, that theſe four ſpecies of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer ſort. This act was afterwards repealed.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeſhire was let at a ſhilling, or about fifteen-pence of our preſent money. This is ten times cheaper than the uſual rent at preſent. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: A preſumption of the bad huſbandry in that age.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants; one of the circumſtances in government which humanity would moſt powerfully recommend to a benevolent legiſlator; which ſeems, at firſt ſight, the moſt eaſily adjuſted; and which is yet the moſt difficult to ſettle in ſuch a manner as to attain the end without deſtroying induſtry. The convents formerly were a ſupport to the poor; but at the ſame time tended to encourage idleneſs and beggary.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the intereſt of money at 10 per cent. the firſt legal intereſt known in England. Formerly all loans of that nature were regarded as uſurious. The preamble of this very law treats the intereſt of money as illegal and criminal: and the prejudices ſtill remained ſo ſtrong, that the law permitting intereſt was repealed in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even ſubſequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general. There remain ſtill too many traces of ſimilar

abſur-

abſurdities. In the ſubſequent reign, the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradeſmen of different kinds, were again ſhut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exerciſing any trade who was not of the corporation.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XI.

State of the Regency.—Hertford Protector.—Progress of the Reformation.—War with Scotland.—Young Queen of Scots sent into France.—Cabals of lord Seymour.—His attainder and execution.—Insurrections.—War with Scotland and France.—Conspiracy against Somerset.—He resigns the Protectorship.—Warwic created duke of Northumberland.—Trial of Somerset.—His Execution.—Succession changed.—King's death.—Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen.—Deserted by the People.—Mary acknowledged.—Northumberland executed.—Catholic religion restored.—Queen's marriage with Philip.—Wyat's insurrection.—Execution of lady Jane Grey.—Philip's arrival in England.—Persecutions.—Execution of Cranmer.—War with France.—Calais taken by the French.—Death of the queen.

A. D. 1547. THE late king had fixed the majority of his son at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was only a few months past nine, he appointed sixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesely, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russel, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; sir William Paget, secretary of state; sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley; sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber;

ber; ſir Edward Wotton, treaſurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To theſe executors, with whom was entruſted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counſellors, who poſſeſſed no immediate power, and could only aſſiſt with their advice when any affair was laid before them. The council was compoſed of the earls of Arundel and Eſſex; ſir Thomas Cheney, treaſurer of the houſehold; ſir John Gage, comptroller; ſir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; ſir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate; ſir Richard Rich, ſir John Baker, ſir Ralph Sadler, ſir Thomas Seymout, ſir Richard Southwel, and ſir Edmund Peckham. The uſual caprice of Henry appears ſomewhat in this nomination; while he appointed ſeveral perſons of inferior ſtation among his executors, and gave only the place of counſellor to a perſon of ſuch high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to ſir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

The executors were no ſooner met then it was repreſented government would loſe its dignity for want of ſome head to repreſent the royal majeſty. Though this alteration from the king's will was oppoſed by chancellor Wriotheſely, a man of an active ſpirit, and high ambition, it was nevertheleſs carried; and the choice fell of courſe on the earl of Hertford, who as the king's maternal uncle, was ſtrongly intereſted in his ſafety.

Henry had intended before his death to make a new creation of nobility, and as in his will he had charged his executors to make good all his promiſes, to fulfil all his engagements, Hertford was created duke of Somerſet, mareſchal, and lord treaſurer; Wriotheſly, earl of Southampton; the earl of Eſſex, marquis of Northampton; viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwic; ſir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral: Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, accepted the title of baron.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an oppoſite party to Somerſet; and it was not

not likely that factions, which had ſecretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, ſhould be ſuppreſſed in the weak adminiſtration that uſually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leiſure for attending to public buſineſs, had, of himſelf and from his own authority, put the great ſeal in commiſſion, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellaſis, to execute in his abſence the office of chancellor. This meaſure ſeemed very exceptionable; and the more ſo, as two of the commiſſioners being canoniſts, the lawyers ſuſpected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to diſcredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depreſs Southampton. They conſulted the judges with regard to ſo unuſual a caſe, and received for anſwer, that the commiſſion was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his preſumption in granting it, had juſtly forfeited the great ſeal, and was even liable to puniſhment. The council ſummoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not loſe it without a trial in parliament; that if the commiſſion which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill conſequences of it be eaſily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authoriſed. But the council, notwithſtanding theſe topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great ſeal; that a fine ſhould be impoſed upon him; and that he ſhould be confined to his own houſe during pleaſure.

The removal of Southampton did not ſatisfy the ambition of Somerſet; on pretence that the vote of the executors, chooſing him protector, was not a ſufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely

over-

overturned the will of Harry VIII. produced a total revolution in the government, and may ſeem even to have ſubverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himſelf protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, conſiſting of all the former counſellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: he reſerved a power of naming any other counſellors at pleaſure: and he was bound to conſult with ſuch only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewiſe empowered to act at diſcretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public ſervice, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, ſtatute, proclamation, or ordinance whatſoever.

The protector had long been regarded as a ſecret partiſan of the reformers; and he took care that all perſons entruſted with the king's education, ſhould be attached to the ſame principles. In his ſchemes for advancing the reformation, he had recourſe to the counſels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation, was averſe to all violent changes. By his advice, a viſitation was made of all the dioceſes of England; the viſitors conſiſted of a mixture of clergy and laity; and the chief purport of their inſtructions was, beſides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, and to bring the diſcipline and worſhip ſomewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches.

In theſe meaſures the protector met with no inconſiderable oppoſition from Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late diſguſts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age and capacity, to the higheſt confidence of his party; he repreſented the perils of perpetual innovations, and the neceſſity of adhering to ſome ſyſtem. "'Tis a dangerous thing," ſaid he, "to "uſe too much freedom in reſearches of this "kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is

"apt

" is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. " If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a ſtop to people's demands, nor govern " their indiſcretions at pleaſure. For my part," ſaid he, " on another occaſion, my ſole concern is, " to manage the third and laſt act of my life with " decency, and to make a handſome exit off the " ſtage. Provided this point is ſecured, I am not " ſolicitous about the reſt. I am already by nature " condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this ſentence; nor ſo much as procure " me a reprieve. To ſpeak my mind, and to act " as my conſcience directs, are two branches of " liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity " in ſpeech, and integrity in action, are entertaining qualities: they will ſtick by a man when " every thing elſe takes its leave; and I muſt " not reſign them upon any conſideration. The " beſt on it is, if I do not throw them away myſelf, no man can force them from me: but if I " give them up, then I am ruined by myſelf, and " deſerve to loſe all my preferments." This oppoſition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council, and he was ſent to the Fleet, where he was uſed with ſome ſeverity.

The ſame religious zeal which engaged Somerſet to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; the emperor was reſolved to make the imputation of hereſy a pretence for oppreſſing the proteſtant princes and liberty of Germany. He had made the elector of Saxony, priſoner by the fortune of war, and the landgrave of Heſſe by treachery; and though Henry the Second, who ſwayed the ſceptre of France was a prince of vigour and abilities, inſtead of arming in defence of the German princes, he was prevailed on by the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorraine, to direct his immediate attention to Scotland.

In that kingdom the partizans of the ancient and new

new religion had daily become more violent; and the violence of the cardinal primate againſt the reformers, ſoon brought matters to a deciſion; one Wiſhart, a gentleman by birth, and celebrated for the purity of his morals, and his extenſive learning, had employed himſelf with great ſucceſs in preaching againſt the ancient ſuperſtitions. By the puniſhment of ſo diſtinguiſhed an innovator, the cardinal hoped to ſtrike terror into all others. He was arreſted, and after a ſhort trial condemned to the flames for hereſy. Wiſhart ſuffered with the uſual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his inſulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he ſhould in the very ſame place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in oppoſition to true piety and religion.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cauſe of the event which it foretold. The diſciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conſpiracy againſt the cardinal; and having aſſociated to them Norman Leſly, who was diſguſted on account of ſome private quarrel, they conducted their enterpriſe with great ſecreſy and ſucceſs. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had ſtrongly fortified; and though they were not above ſixteen perſons, they thruſt out a hundred tradeſmen and fifty ſervants, whom they ſeized ſeparately, before any ſuſpicion aroſe of their intentions; and having ſhut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpoſe on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noiſe which he heard in the caſtle; and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: but finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promiſe of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a prieſt, he conjured them to ſpare him. Two of the aſſaſſins ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more conſiderate in villany,

ſtopped

ſtopped their career, and bade them reflect that this work was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his ſword toward Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, "thou wicked cardinal, of all thy ſins and iniqui-"ties, eſpecially of the murder of Wiſhart, that "inſtrument of God for the converſion of theſe "lands: it is his death which now cries vengeance "upon thee: we are ſent by God to inflict the "deſerved puniſhment. For here, before the "Almighty, I proteſt, that it is neither hatred "of thy perſon, nor love of thy riches, nor fear "of thy power, which moves me to ſeek thy "death: but only becauſe thou haſt been, and "ſtill remaineſt, an obſtinate enemy to Chriſt "Jeſus, and his holy goſpel." Having ſpoken theſe words, without giving Beaton time to finiſh that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thruſt him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This murder was executed on the 28th of May 1546. The aſſaſſins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty perſons, prepared themſelves for the defence of the caſtle, and ſent a meſſenger to London, craving aſſiſtance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of diſturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promiſed to take them under his protection.

To fulfil this promiſe, and to execute the project which the late king had recommended with his dying breath, the protector, after publiſhing a manifeſto, in which he revived the ancient claim of ſuperiority, invaded Scotland with an army of 18,000 men. He paſſed the borders at Berwic, and advanced towards Edinburgh; where, about four miles from that city, on the banks of the Eſke, he beheld the Scots, amounting to double the number

of

of his own army, advantageouſly poſted. Having taken a view of their camp, with the earl of Warwic, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of ſucceſs; he wrote therefore to Arran, and offered to evacuate the kingdom as well as to repair the damages, provided the Scots would ſtipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till ſhe reached the age of chuſing a huſband for herſelf. This demand was rejected by the Scots, who inflamed by their prieſts, quitted their camp, paſſed the river, and advanced into the plain, in hopes of cutting off the retreat of the Engliſh.

Somerſet was much pleaſed when he beheld this movement of the Scottiſh army; and immediately formed his own in order of battle. The impetuoſity of the Engliſh cavalry in the firſt attack, expoſed them to ſome diſgrace; but they ſoon recovered their ranks; and avenged their diſhonour on their enemies. The Scots were broken on every ſide, and purſued to Edinburgh; there fell not two hundred of the Engliſh; and, according to the moſt moderate computation, there periſhed above ten thouſand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken priſoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were ſcarcely able to collect ſuch a body of forces as could check the incurſions of ſmall parties of the Engliſh. About the ſame time the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the weſt marches, at the head of five thouſand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they ſpread devaſtation over all the neighbouring counties. Had Somerſet proſecuted his advantages, he might have impoſed what terms he pleaſed on the Scottiſh nation: but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard ſome counſellors, and even his own brother the admiral, were carrying on cabals againſt his au-

thority. Having taking the caſtles of Hume, Dunglaſs, Eymouth, Faſtcaſtle, Roxborough, and ſome other ſmall places, and having received the ſubmiſſion of ſome counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, beſides deſtroying all the ſhipping along the coaſt, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there left a garriſon. Arran deſired leave to ſend commiſſioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerſet, having appointed Berwic for the place of conference, left Warwic with full powers to negotiate: but no commiſſioners from Scotland ever appeared; the overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time till ſuccours ſhould arrive from France.

The protector on his arrival in England ſummoned a parliament, in which all laws were repealed which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt Lollardy or hereſy, together with the ſtatute of the ſix articles. None were to be accuſed for words, but within a month after they were ſpoken. By theſe repeals ſeveral of the moſt rigorous laws that ever had paſſed in England were annulled; and ſome dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Hereſy, however, was ſtill a capital crime by the common law, and was ſubjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be defined or determined: a circumſtance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public ſecurity, according to the diſpoſition of the judges.

A repeal alſo paſſed of that law, the deſtruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a ſtatute. That other law likewiſe was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every ſtatute paſſed before the four-and-twentieth year of his age: he could prevent

vent their future execution; but could not recal any paſt effects which had enſued from them.

The convocation met at the ſame time with the parliament; and the lower houſe A.D. 1548. applied to have the liberty of ſitting with the commons; this demand was however rejected; and the protector, though he had aſſented to the repeal of that law which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of ſtatutes, did not heſitate to iſſue proclamations in ſome particulars which were conſidered as momentous. An order of council was iſſued for the removal of images from the churches; and, as private maſſes were aboliſhed by law, it became neceſſary to compoſe a new communion-ſervice; and the council went ſo far in the preface which was fixed to the work, as to leave the practice of auricular confeſſion wholly indifferent.

The greater progreſs was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himſelf from all proſpect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averſe to all alliance with a nation which had ſo far departed from all ancient principles. Somerſet, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be ſtrongly garriſoned and fortified by lord Grey: he alſo erected ſome fortifications at Lauder: and he hoped that theſe two places, together with Broughty and ſome ſmaller fortreſſes which were in the hands of the Engliſh, would ſerve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him acceſs into the heart of the country.

Arran being diſappointed in ſome attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the ſuccours expected from France for the recovery of theſe places; and they arrived at laſt in the Frith to the number of ſix thouſand men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by Deſſé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and the count Rhingrave. The

Scots were at that time ſo ſunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred Engliſh horſe were able to ravage the whole country without reſiſtance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital: but on the appearance of the French ſuccours, they collected more courage; and having joined Deſſé with a conſiderable reinforcement, they laid ſiege to Haddington. This was an undertaking for which they were by themſelves totally unfit; and, even with the aſſiſtance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of ſucceſs in ſtarving the garriſon. After ſome vain attempts to take the place by a regular ſiege, the blockade was formed, and the garriſon was repulſed with loſs in ſeveral ſallies which they made upon the beſiegers.

The hoſtile attempts which the late king and the protector had made againſt Scotland, had inſpired the nation with the utmoſt averſion to an union. The queen-dowager finding theſe ſentiments prevail, had propoſed that the young queen ſhould be ſent to France; the earl of Arran was perſuaded to ſecond her intentions by the title of duke of Chatelrault, and a penſion of twelve thouſand livres; and Mary embarking on board ſome French veſſels, arrived at Breſt, whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and betrothed to the dauphin.

In the mean time the Scots recovered the fortreſſes of Hume, and Faſtcaſtle; and even laid ſiege to Haddington; but were compelled to retire from before that place by the earl of Shrewſbury, to whom the duke of Somerſet had committed the command of an army of eighteen thouſand Engliſh and three thouſand Germans.

After the relief of Haddington, Shrewſbury retired into England; and the mortification which Somerſet felt from the affairs of Scotland, was increaſed by the intrigues of his own family. His brother, lord Seymour, was a man of inſatiable ambition; arrogant, aſſuming, implacable; and though eſteemed of ſuperior capacity to the protector,

tor, he poſſeſſed not to the ſame degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and addreſs he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence and decency, ſhe married him immediately upon the demiſe of the late king: inſomuch that, had ſhe ſoon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which huſband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance ſupported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the dutcheſs of Somerſet, who, uneaſy that the younger brother's wife ſhould have the precedency, employed all her credit with her huſband, which was too great, firſt to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers.

The firſt attempt of the admiral to weaken the authority of Somerſet, was in procuring a letter from the young king, deſiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; but finding himſelf firmly oppoſed in this project by parliament, he dropped it, and was in appearance reconciled to his brother.

He ſoon, however, reſumed his turbulent deſigns; his ſpouſe the queen-mother had died in child-bed; yet far from regarding this event, as a check to his aſpiring views, he made his addreſſes to the lady Elizabeth; but as Henry had excluded his daughters from all hopes of ſucceſſion, if they married without the conſent of his executors, which Seymour could not hope to obtain, he is ſuppoſed to have aimed at effecting his purpoſe by the moſt criminal means; he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his intereſt all over England: he neglected not even the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and had computed that he could, on occaſion, muſter an army of 10,000 men, compoſed of his ſervants, tenants, and retainers: he had already provided arms for their uſe; and having engaged ſir John Sharington, a corrupt man, maſter of the

mint at Briſtol, he flattered himſelf that money would not be wanting. Somerſet was well appriſed of all theſe alarming circumſtances, and endeavoured, by the moſt friendly expedients, by intreaty, reaſon, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him deſiſt from his dangerous counſels; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more ſevere remedies. The earl of Warwic was an ill inſtrument between the brothers; and had formed the deſign, by inflaming the quarrel, to raiſe his own fortune on the ruins of both.

Dudley earl of Warwic was the ſon of that Dudley miniſter to Henry VII. who having by rapine, extortion, and perverſion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been ſacrificed to popular animoſity in the beginning of the ſubſequent reign. The late king, ſenſible of the iniquity, at leaſt illegality of the ſentence, had afterwards reſtored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with abilities, induſtry, and activity, he had intruſted him with many important commands, and had ever found him ſucceſsful in his undertakings. He raiſed him to the dignity of viſcount Liſle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made ſtill further progreſs during the minority; and having obtained the title of earl of Warwic, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counſellors. The victory gained at Pinkey was much aſcribed to his courage and conduct: and he was univerſally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all theſe virtues were obſcured by ſtill greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an inſatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of juſtice: and as he found that lord Seymour, whoſe abilities and enterpriſing ſpirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himſelf in

ruin

ruin by his raſh counſels, he was determined to puſh him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obſtacle to his own projected greatneſs.

When Somerſet found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's ſeditious, not to ſay rebellious ſchemes, he was the more eaſily perſuaded by Warwic to employ the extent of royal authority againſt him: and afrer depriving him of the office of admiral, he ſigned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were alſo taken into cuſtody; and three privy-counſellors being ſent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important diſcoveries. Yet ſtill the protector ſuſpended the blow, and ſhowed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to deſiſt from the proſecution, if Seymour would promiſe him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other anſwer to theſe friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of thirty-three articles; and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended, that every particular was ſo inconteſtably proved, both by witneſſes and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower in order more fully to examine the priſoner. He was not daunted by the appearance: he boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witneſſes; deſired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be conſidered; and refuſed to anſwer any interrogatories by which he might accuſe himſelf.

It is apparent that, notwithſtanding what is pretended, there muſt have been ſome deficiency in the evidence againſt Seymour, when ſuch demands, founded on the plaineſt principles of law and equity, were abſolutely rejected. We ſhall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of

the articles were general, and ſcarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, ſuſceptible of a more favourable interpetation; and that though on the whole Seymour appears to have been a dangerous ſubject, he had not advanced far in thoſe treaſonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt ſeems to have conſiſted in ſome unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impoſitions laid upon the merchants.

But the adminiſtration had at that time an eaſy inſtrument of vengeance in the parliament; and a ſeſſion being held, Seymour was proceeded againſt by bill of attainder. The bill readily paſſed; the ſentence was ſoon after executed, and the
A.D. 1549. priſoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was ſigned by Somerſet himſelf, who was expoſed to much blame on account of the violence of theſe proceedings.

During this ſeſſions, not only the tranſlation of the liturgy, and the ſcriptures into the vulgar tongue was encouraged, but an act paſſed permitting the marriage of prieſts who had hitherto been enjoyned celibacy.

The proteſtant divines having renounced opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded in their turn the new ſyſtem, ſo certain that they would ſuffer no contradiction to it; and they were ready to burn in the ſame flames, from which they themſelves had ſo narrowly eſcaped, every one that had the aſſurance to differ from them. There was a woman accuſed of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was ſo pertinacious that the commiſſioners could make no impreſſion upon her. Her doctrine was, "That "Chriſt was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, "whoſe fleſh, being the outward man, was ſinfully "begotten, and born in ſin; and conſequently, he "could take none of it: but the Word, by the "conſent of the inward man of the Virgin, was

"made fleſh." This opinion, it would ſeem, is not orthodox; and there was a neceſſity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in ſuch tender years, had more ſenſe than all his counſellors and preceptors; and he long refuſed to ſign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to perſuade him to compliance; and he ſaid that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and thoſe which were in direct contradiction to the Apoſtles Creed: theſe latter were impieties againſt God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repreſs; in like manner, as inferior magiſtrates were bound to puniſh offences againſt the king's perſon. Edward, overcome by importunity, at laſt ſubmitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt ſhould lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obſtinate againſt all his arguments, at laſt committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accuſed of the hereſy which has received the name of Arianiſm, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment. He ſuffered with ſo much ſatisfaction that he hugged and careſſed the faggots that were conſuming him; a ſpecies of frenzy, of which there is more than one inſtance among the martyrs of that age.

Though ſcarce any inſtitution can be leſs favourable to mankind, than that of monks and friars, yet ſome advantages flowed from it to the common people. The convents, from the alms they diſtributed, were a ſure reſource to the idle and the indigent; by theſe the ſuppreſſion of them was regretted; and the grievances of the multitude were at this time heightened by various cauſes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England theſe arts had made greater progreſs than the knowledge of agriculture; a profeſſion which of all

me-

mechanical employments requires the moſt reflection and experience. A great demand aroſe for wool both abroad and at home: paſturage was found more profitable than unſkilful tillage: whole eſtates were laid waſte by incloſures: the tenants, regarded as a uſeleſs burden, were expelled their habitations: even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to miſery: and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom. This grievance was now of an old date; and ſir Thomas More, alluding to it, obſerves in his Utopia, that a ſheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

The general increaſe alſo of gold and ſilver in Europe, after the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, had a tendency to inflame theſe complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could eaſily be tranſported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not ſo eaſily change their habitation, ſtill remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a ſubſiſtence by their induſtry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this increaſe of induſtry was at laſt the effect of the preſent ſituation, and an effect beneficial to ſociety, yet was it difficult for the people to ſhake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but neceſſity could compel them to ſuch an exertion of their faculties.

It muſt alſo be remarked, that the profuſion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithſtanding his rapacity, to ſuch difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a preſent neceſſity, by the pernicious expedient of debaſing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry ſtill farther the ſame abuſe. The uſual con-

conſequences enſued; the good ſpecie was hoarded or exported; baſe metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people who received their wages in it, could not purchaſe commodities at the uſual rates; a univerſal diffidence and ſtagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

Theſe murmurs were ſucceeded by acts of open violence; and numerous inſurrections took place throughout England: that in Norfolk was the moſt formidable, conſiſting of 20,000 men, headed by one Ket, a tanner. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in perſon againſt the rebels: he therefore ſent the earl of Warwic at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars againſt Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of encreaſing his reputation and character. Warwic having tried ſome ſkirmiſhes with the rebels, at laſt made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thouſand fell in the action and purſuit; and Ket himſelf was hanged at Norwich caſtle.

But though inſurrections were thus quickly ſubdued in England, they were attended with bad conſequences to the foreign intereſts of the nation. The Scots compelled the Engliſh to evacuate Haddington; and the king of France ſeized the opportunity of recovering, with the exception of Boulogne, all the conqueſts which Henry had made on the continent.

Somerſet, embarraſſed on every ſide, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; but he found he no longer poſſeſſed his wonted influence in the council. Warwic had joined himſelf to the malcontent counſellor; the protector, who had ever affected popularity, had erected a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the relief of the people; not only this ſtep which was certainly illegal, but the attainder of his brother, which bore an odious aſ-

pect;

pect; the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom; the great eſtate which he had ſuddenly acquired; and the magnificent palace which he was building in the Strand, were urged againſt him: his enemies, lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwic, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-houſe, and aſſuming themſelves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they repreſented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the preſent meaſures, and requiring their aſſiſtance; they ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerſet. They laid the ſame injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expreſſed his reſolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir John Gage, ſir Ralph Sadler, and chief juſtice Montague, joined the malcontent counſellors; and every thing bore a bad aſpect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had ſent to treat with the council, rather choſe to remain with them: the common council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new meaſures, and their reſolution of ſupporting them.

As ſoon as the protector heard of this defection, he removed the king to Hampton-court; but finding no perſon of rank, except Cranmer, adhered to him, he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and applied to his enemies for forgiveneſs. He capitulated only for gentle uſage, which was promiſed him. He was, however, ſent to the Tower, with ſome of his partiſans. Articles of indictment were preferred againſt him; and Warwic, who had got poſſeſſion of the young king's perſon, prepared to acquire an aſcendancy

dancy over his mind, by acquieſcing in all his wiſhes in regard to the reformation.

A ſeſſion of parliament was held, and it was the uſual maxim of that aſſembly to acquieſce with every adminiſtration. The new council which Warwic had formed dreaded no oppoſition from that quarter. Somerſet had been prevailed on to confeſs on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge againſt him; and he imputed theſe miſdemeanors to his own raſhneſs, folly, and indiſcretion, not to any malignity of intention. He even ſubſcribed this confeſſion; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after ſending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, paſſed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thouſand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treaſurer in his place, and Warwic earl marſhal. The proſecution againſt him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king: he recovered his liberty: and Warwic, thinking that he was now ſufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much leſſened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own ſon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerſet.

When Warwic and the council of regency began to exerciſe their power, they found themſelves embarraſſed by the wars with France and Scotland; they agreed to liſten to the advances which Henry made them, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, ſir John Maſon, Paget and Petre, were ſent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French king abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of penſions; and ſaid that he never would conſent to render himſelf tributary to any prince: A. D. 1550.

but

but he offered a ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thouſand crowns were at laſt agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: the Engliſh ſtipulated to reſtore Lauder and Douglas, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth. No ſooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a cloſe alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a propoſal ſo ſuitable both to his intereſts and his inclinations. An agreement ſome time after was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully ſettled: but this project never took effect.

A.D. 1551. Notwithſtanding the intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent perſecutor of the proteſtants, the council was ſteady in every other reſpect in promoting the reformation. Of the prelates who were attached to the ancient communion, not only Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, but Day of Chicheſter, Heathe of Worceſter, and Voiſey of Exeter, were deprived of their ſees, on pretence of diſobedience.

Though every one beſides yielded, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; the council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her ſentiments, and to perſuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They aſked her what warrant there was in ſcripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the uſe of images, or offering up the ſacrament for the dead; and they deſired her to peruſe St. Auſtin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and prove that it was founded merely on falſe miracles and lying ſtories. The lady Mary remained obſtinate againſt all

all this advice, and declared herſelf willing to endure death rather than relinquiſh her religion: ſhe only feared, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer martyrdom in ſo holy a cauſe: and as for proteſtant books, ſhe thanked God, that as ſhe never had, ſo ſhe hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, ſhe endeavoured to make an eſcape to her kinſman Charles; but her deſign was diſcovered and prevented. The emperor remonſtrated in her behalf, and even threatened hoſtilities, if liberty of conſcience were refuſed her: but though the council, ſenſible that the kingdom was in no condition to ſupport with honour ſuch a war, was deſirous to comply, they found great difficulty to overcome the ſcruples of the young king. He had been educated in ſuch a violent abhorrence of the maſs and other popiſh rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he ſhould participate, he thought in the ſin, if he allowed its commiſſion: and when at laſt the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed ſomewhat over his oppoſition, he burſt into tears; lamenting his ſiſter's obſtinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſuch an abominable mode of worſhip.

The theological zeal of the council, though ſeemingly fervent, went not ſo far as to make them neglect the public intereſts. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanſe-towns; but the patent which exempted theſe latter from the duties paid by other aliens, was annulled; and the Engliſh, who by their ſituation had advantages above foreigners in the purchaſe of cloth, wool, and other commodities, were encouraged to enter into commerce.

A treaty was alſo made with Guſtavus Ericſon, king of Sweden, by which it was ſtipulated, that if he ſent bullion into England, he might import Engliſh commodities without paying cuſtom; the bullion

bullion ſent over from Sweden was coined into good ſpecie, and much of the baſe was recalled.

But all theſe ſchemes for promoting induſtry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domeſtic convulſions, ariſing from the ambition of Warwic. The laſt earl of Northumberland had died without iſſue; and as ſir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted in the late reign, Warwic procured a grant of the eſtate, with the title of duke of Northumberland.

The popularity which Somerſet ſtill enjoyed, made him appear a formidable rival to Northumberland, who was not deterred by the alliance of the two families from projecting his ruin. He ſecretly gained many of the friends and ſervants of that unhappy nobleman: who provoked by ill uſage, often broke out into menacing expreſſions: his treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every paſſionate word which dropped from him: they revealed the ſchemes which they themſelves had firſt ſuggeſted: and Northumberland, thinking that the proper ſeaſon was now come, began to act in an open manner againſt him.

In one night the duke of Somerſet, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's ſervants, ſir Ralph Vane, and ſir Thomas Palmer, were arreſted and committed to cuſtody. Next day the dutcheſs of Somerſet, with her favourites Crane and his wife, ſir Miles Partridge, ſir Michael Stanhope, Bannifter, and others, were thrown into priſon. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a ſpy upon Somerſet, accuſed him of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the North, to attack the gens d'armes on a muſter-day, to ſecure the Tower, and to raiſe a rebellion in London: but what was the only probable accuſation, he aſſerted, that Somerſet had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife

wife confirmed Palmer's teſtimony with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conſpiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confeſſed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

Somerſet was brought to his trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, created high ſteward. Twenty-ſeven peers compoſed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency ſhould have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerſet was accuſed of high treaſon on account of the projected inſurrections, and of felony in laying a deſign to murder the privy-counſellors.

The proof ſeems to have been lame on account of the treaſonable part of the charge; but the priſoner himſelf confeſſed that he had expreſſed his intention of murdering Northumberland, and he was accordingly condemned to death. Care had been taken to prepoſſeſs the young king againſt him; and leſt he ſhould relent, no acceſs was given to any of Somerſet's friends. The priſoner was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, amidſt crowds of ſpectators, who bore him ſuch ſincere kindneſs that they entertained to the laſt moment the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them ruſhed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a precious relique; and ſome of them ſoon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and diſplayed to him theſe ſymbols of his crime. A. D. 1552.

The day after the execution of Somerſet, a ſeſſion of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authoriſed; and penalties were enacted againſt all thoſe who abſented

themſelves from public worſhip. To uſe the maſs was alſo prohibited.

Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, was leſs eminent for the dignity of his ſee, than for his perſonal merit; he had oppoſed by his vote and authority all innovations in religion; but as ſoon as they were enacted, he had always ſubmitted, and had conformed to every theological ſyſtem which had been eſtabliſhed. His known probity had made this compliance be aſcribed, not to an intereſted or time-ſerving ſpirit, but to a ſenſe of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be ſacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any ſevere treatment during the adminiſtration of Somerſet; but when Northumberland gained the aſcendant, he was thrown into priſon; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a deſign of ſeizing the revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of acquiring to himſelf a principality in the northern counties, he was reſolved, in order to effect his purpoſe, to deprive Tonſtal of his biſhopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of miſpriſion of treaſon, was introduced into the houſe of peers againſt the prelate; and it paſſed with the oppoſition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and ſincere friendſhip to the biſhop of Durham. But when the bill was ſent down to the commons, they required that witneſſes ſhould be examined, that Tonſtal ſhould be allowed to defend himſelf, and that he ſhould be confronted with his accuſers: and when theſe demands were refuſed, they rejected the bill.

As this equity, ſo unuſual, was aſcribed by Northumberland to the prevalence of Somerſet's faction, he reſolved to diſſolve the parliament, and to ſummon a new one. And to enſure himſelf an houſe entirely obſequious to his will, he engaged the king to write circular letters, in which the freeholders were directed,

directed, in the nomination of repreſentatives, to attend to the recommendations of the privy council.

This expedient anſwered Northumberland's expectation; as Tonſtal had in the interval been deprived of his biſhopric in an arbitrary manner, by the ſentence of lay commiſſioners appointed to try him, the ſee of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two biſhoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue aſſigned them. The regalities of the ſee, which included the juriſdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had alſo purpoſed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then uſual with the courtiers whenever a biſhopric became vacant. A. D. 1553.

The commons gave the miniſtry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the moſt ſincere of any, the moſt cordial, and the moſt difficult to be obtained: they granted a ſupply of two ſubſidies and two fifteenths. To render this preſent the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accuſation of Somerſet, "for involving "the king in wars, waſting his treaſure, engaging "him in much debt, embaſing the coin, and giv-"ing occaſion for a moſt terrible rebellion."

Though the young king ſhewed a diſpoſition to frugality, ſuch had been the rapacity of his courtiers, that the crown owed above 300,000 pounds; and as Edward's health was declining faſt, the emptineſs of the exchequer was an obſtacle to the ambitious projects which Northumberland cheriſhed.

That nobleman repreſented to the prince, that his two ſiſters had been declared illegitimate, and though reſtored by Henry's will, the nation would never ſubmit to ſee the throne of England filled by a baſtard. That the queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the late king's will; and that the certain conſequence of her ſucceſſion, or that of his ſiſter Mary,

was the abolition of the proteſtant religion; that when theſe three princeſſes were excluded, the ſucceſſion devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioneſs, was lady Jane Grey, a lady of the moſt amiable character, accompliſhed by the beſt education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no juſt reaſon to pretend, the king was poſſeſſed of the ſame power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Theſe reaſonings made impreſſion on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the proteſtant religion made him apprehend the conſequences, if ſo bigotted a catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no ſuch objection, means were found to perſuade him that he could not exclude the one ſiſter on account of illegitimacy, without giving alſo an excluſion to the other

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his ſcheme. Two ſons of the duke of Suffolk, by a ſecond venter, having died this ſeaſon of the ſweating ſickneſs, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to beſtow it on the marquis of Dorſet. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he perſuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the ducheſs to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth ſon, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himſelf by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, ſecond daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke. He alſo married his own daughter to lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Huntingdon. Theſe marriages were ſolemniſed with great pomp and feſtivity; and the people, who

hated

hated Northumberland, could not forbear expreſſing their indignation at ſeeing ſuch public demonſtrations of joy during the languiſhing ſtate of the young prince's health.

The general attachment to Edward, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that the king had every moment grown worſe from the time that lord Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber. His declining health ſerved only to make Northumberland more intent on the execution of his ſchemes. He prevailed on the young prince to give his final conſent to the ſettlement projected; ſir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the common pleas, ſir John Baker and ſir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and ſolicitor-general, were ſummoned to the council, where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They heſitated; and the more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The ſettlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in conſequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, paſſed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treaſon in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to change the order of ſucceſſion. At laſt Montague propoſed an expedient. He deſired that a ſpecial commiſſion ſhoud be paſſed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new ſettlement of the crown; and that a pardon ſhould be immediately after granted them for any offence they might have incurred.

When the patent was brought to the chancellor to affix the great ſeal, he required, for his greater ſecruity, that all the privy counſellors ſhould ſet their hands to the patent: the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were ſo prevalent, that the counſellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone heſitated during ſome time, but at laſt yielded to the earneſt and pathetic entreaties of

the king. Cecil, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, pretended afterwards that he only ſigned as witneſs to the king's ſubſcription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, were ſet aſide, and the crown was ſettled on the heirs of the ducheſs of Suffolk: for the ducheſs herſelf was content to give place to her daughters.

After this ſettlement was made, with ſo many inauſpicious circumſtances, Edward viſibly declined every day; and ſmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worſe, his phyſicians were diſmiſſed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms increaſed to the moſt violent degree: he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign.

All the Engliſh hiſtorians dwell with pleaſure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promiſes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He poſſeſſed mildneſs of diſpoſition, application to ſtudy and buſineſs, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and juſtice. He ſeems only to have contracted, from his education, and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoſſeſſion in matters of religion, which made him incline ſomewhat to bigotry and perſecution: but as the bigotry of proteſtants, leſs governed by prieſts, lies under more reſtraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the leſs to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

During the life of Edward, the princeſs Mary had been conſidered as his lawful ſucceſſor: and though

the

the proteſtants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred univerſally entertained againſt the Dudleys, who men foreſaw would reign under the name of Jane, was more than ſufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion.

Northumberland, ſenſible of the oppoſition that he muſt expect, had concealed the deſtination made by the king; and in order to bring the two princeſſes into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, deſiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm ſtate of health required the aſſiſtance of their counſel, and the conſolation of their company. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princeſſes fall into the ſnare, kept the king's death ſtill ſecret; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddeſden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel ſent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conſpiracy formed againſt her: ſhe immediately made haſte to retire; and ſhe arrived, by quick journies, firſt at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where ſhe purpoſed to embark and eſcape to Flanders, in caſe ſhe ſhould find it impoſſible to defend her right of ſucceſſion. She wrote letters to the nobility and moſt conſiderable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon. And ſhe diſpatched a meſſage to the council; by which ſhe notified to them that her brother's death was no longer a ſecret to her, promiſed them pardon for paſt offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.

Northumberland finding further diſſimulation fruitleſs, approached lady Jane with the reſpect due to a ſovereign. Jane was in a great meaſure ignorant of theſe tranſactions, and it was with equal

grief and ſurpriſe that ſhe received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable perſon, an engaging diſpoſition, and accompliſhed parts. She had attained a familiar knowlege of the Roman and Greek languages; and her heart, full of paſſion for literature and tenderneſs towards her huſband, had no room for ambition. She even refuſed to accept the crown; and only yielded rather to the entreaties than the reaſons of her father and her huſband.

While Jane was proclaimed in London, the people of Suffolk paid their attendance on Mary. On her aſſurance that ſhe never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enliſted with zeal in her cauſe. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcements; ſir Edward Haſtings carried over to her four thouſand men. Even a fleet which had been ſent by Northumberland to lie off the coaſt of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a ſtorm, was engaged to declare for that princeſs.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, ſaw at laſt the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himſelf. He had levied forces which were aſſembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counſellors, whoſe compliance he knew had been entirely the reſult of fear or artifice, he was reſolved to keep near the perſon of the lady Jane, and ſend Suffolk to command the army. But the counſellors who wiſhed to remove him, working on the filial tenderneſs of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be expoſed; and repreſented that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly ſuppreſſing a rebellion in thoſe parts, was more proper to command in that enterpriſe. The duke himſelf, who knew the ſlender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that none but himſelf was able to encounter the preſent danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counſellors attended on him at his departure with the higheſt

higheſt proteſtations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy. As he went along, he remarked the diſaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iſſue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," ſaid he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries *God ſpeed you!*"

The duke had no ſooner reached St. Edmund's-bury, than he found his army, which did not exceed ſix thouſand men, too weak to encounter the queen's. He alſo heard that the council had proclaimed Mary with the approbation of the capital; that even Suffolk had ſurrendered up the Tower; and that Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more ſatisfaction than ſhe felt when the royalty was tendered to her: and the meſſengers who were ſent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had deſpaired of ſucceſs, was deſerted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and ſatisfaction. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave ſenſible expreſſions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thouſand horſe, which that princeſs had levied in order to ſupport their joint title againſt the uſurper.

The queen gave orders for taking into cuſtody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arreſted him, and abjectly begged his life. At the ſame time were committed the earl of Warwic, his eldeſt ſon; lord Ambroſe and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger ſons; ſir Andrew Dudley, his brother; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, ſir Thomas Palmer, and ſir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was deſirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency. Suffolk owed his liberty to the contempt of his capacity. Northumberland,

berland, was however, too formidable to be pardoned; he pleaded guilty. At his execution, he made profeſſion of the catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their anceſtors. Sentence was alſo pronounced againſt the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any preſent intention of putting it in execution.

The joy ariſing from the ſucceſſion of the lawful heir, was damped by the zeal of Mary for the ancient religion. Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonſtal, were not only reinſtated in their ſees; but Cranmer, whoſe merits to the queen during the reign of Henry had been conſiderable, was tried, on pretence of having concurred with lady Jane, and was pronounced guilty of high treaſon. The execution of the ſentence did not follow, and he was reſerved for a more cruel puniſhment.

Several Engliſh proteſtants, foreſeeing the ſtorm, took ſhelter in foreign parts; and the obſequiouſneſs of the parliament that was ſummoned ſufficiently juſtified their caution. In opening that aſſembly, the court ſhowed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houſes a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though aboliſhed by act of parliament. Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, having refuſed to kneel at this ſervice, was ſeverely handled, and was violently thruſt out of the houſe. The queen, however, ſtill retained the title of ſupreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to reſtore religion to the ſame condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuſes of popery, which were the moſt grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

The firſt bill paſſed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and aboliſhed every ſpecies of treaſon not contained in the ſtatute of Edward III. and every ſpecies of felony that did not ſubſiſt before the

firſt

firſt of Henry VIII. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the Pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the ſtatutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reverſed; and this act of juſtice was more reaſonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid, without farther authority. Many clauſes of the riot act paſſed in the late reign were revived: a ſtep which eluded in a great meaſure the popular ſtatute enacted at the firſt meeting of parliament.

Notwithſtanding theſe compliances, the two houſes were determined not to ſubmit tamely to the queen's pleaſure in a choice of a huſband. There were three marriages, concerning which it was ſuppoſed that Mary had deliberated, after her acceſſion. The firſt was with the earl of Devonſhire, whoſe perſon and addreſs had viſibly gained on the queen's affections; but that nobleman neglected this advantage, to attach himſelf to the lady Elizabeth; the ſecond was cardinal Pole, who had never taken prieſts orders, but it was inſinuated to Mary that he was in the decline of life, and had contracted habits of ſtudy and retirement, unſuitable to the buſtle of a court; the third was with Philip, ſon of the emperor Charles V. and this alliance was not only ſtrenuouſly recommended by Gardiner, who had become prime miniſter, but was readily embraced by Mary herſelf.

The commons were, however, far from regarding this meaſure in the ſame favourable light, and the remonſtrance they preſented againſt it was productive of their diſſolution. After the parliament was diſmiſſed, the new laws reſpecting religion were openly put in execution. The maſs was every where

where re-eſtabliſhed; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any ſpiritual office.

This ſudden change of religion inſpir-
A.D. 1554. ed the proteſtants with great diſcontent: but the Spaniſh match was a point of more general concern. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as poſſible for the intereſt and ſecurity, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children, without the conſet of the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled as her jointure; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die and his line be extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip. Such was the treaty of marriage, ſigned by count Egmont, and three other ambaſſadors ſent over to England by the emperor.

Theſe articles when publiſhed, gave no ſatisfaction to the nation: it was aſſerted that England would become a province to the Houſe of Auſtria; and ſome perſons, more turbulent than the reſt, formed a conſpiracy to riſe in arms, and declare againſt the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat purpoſed to raiſe Kent; ſir Peter Carew, Devonſhire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raiſing the midland counties. Carew's impatience or apprehenſions engaged him to break the concert, and to riſe in arms

before

before the day appointed: he was ſoon ſuppreſſed by the earl of Bedford, and conſtrained to fly into France. On this intelligence, Suffolk, dreading an arreſt, ſuddenly left the town, with his brothers lord Thomas and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raiſe the people in the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, where his intereſt lay; but he was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of 300 horſe, that he was obliged to diſperſe his followers, and being diſcovered in his concealment, he was carried priſoner to London. Wiat was at firſt more ſucceſsful in his attempt; and having publiſhed a declaration at Maidſtone in Kent, againſt the queen's evil counſellors, and againſt the Spaniſh match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his ſtandard. The duke of Norfolk, with ſir Henry Jernegan, was ſent againſt him, at the head of the guards and ſome other troops, reinforced with 500 Londoners commanded by Bret; and he came within ſight of the rebels at Rocheſter, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to deſert from them; but having ſecretly gained Bret, theſe two malcontents ſo wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deſerted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enſlave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took ſhelter in the city.

After this proof of the diſpoſitions of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly proteſtants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed: he led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen that ſhe ſhould put the Tower into his hands, ſhould deliver four counſellors as hoſtages, and, in order to enſure the liberty of the nation, ſhould immediately marry an Engliſhman. Finding that the bridge was ſecured againſt him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingſton, where he

he paſſed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partiſans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently waſted ſo much time at Southwark and in his march from Kingſton, that the critical ſeaſon, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely loſt: though he entered Weſtminſter without reſiſtance, his followers, finding that no perſon of note joined him, inſenſibly fell off, and he was at laſt ſeized near Temple-bar by ſir Maurice Berkeley. Four hundred perſons are ſaid to have ſuffered for this rebellion; four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received a pardon and were diſmiſſed. Wiat was condemned and executed: as it had been reported that, on his examination, he had accuſed the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire as accomplices, he took care on the ſcaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any ſhare in his rebellion.

The lady Elizabeth had been during ſome time treated with great harſhneſs by her ſiſter; but the declaration of Wiat rendered it impoſſible to proceed againſt her. As ſhe had declined a propoſal of marriage with the duke of Savoy, ſhe was confined at Wodeſtoke; and the earl of Devonſhire, though equally innocent, was kept priſoner in Fotheringay caſtle.

This rebellion proved fatal to the lady Jane Grey and her huſband. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which ſhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the miſfortunes to which ſhe had been expoſed, rendered nowiſe unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the priſoner's ſoul, induced her to ſend divines, who harraſſed her with perpetual diſputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that ſhe would be perſuaded during that time, to pay, by a timely converſion, ſome regard to her

her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had preſence of mind, in thoſe melancholy circumſtances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in uſe, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter in the Greek language; in which, beſides ſending her a copy of the ſcriptures in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like ſteady perſeverance. On the day of her execution, her huſband lord Guilford deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but ſhe refuſed her conſent, and informed him by a meſſage, that the tenderneſs of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that conſtancy which their approaching end required of them: their ſeparation, ſhe ſaid, would be only for a moment; and they would ſoon rejoin each other in a ſcene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, diſappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have acceſs to them, or diſturb their eternal felicity.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the ſame ſcaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that ſhe ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She ſaw her huſband led to execution; and having given him from the window ſome token of her remembrance, ſhe waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour ſhould bring her to a like fate. She even ſaw his headleſs body carried back in a cart; and found herſelf more confirmed by the reports which ſhe heard of the conſtancy of his end, than ſhaken by ſo tender and melancholy a ſpectacle. Sir John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: ſhe gave him her table-book, on which ſhe had juſt written three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in

Engliſh. The purport of them was, that human juſtice was againſt his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; that if her fault deſerved puniſhment, her youth at leaſt, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhow her favour. On the ſcaffold ſhe made a ſpeech to the by-ſtanders; in which the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame wholly on herſelf, without uttering one complaint againſt the ſeverity with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy: that ſhe had leſs erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: that ſhe willingly received death as the only ſatisfaction which ſhe could now make to the injured ſtate; and though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhow, by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous to atone for that diſobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that ſhe had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unwilling inſtrument, of the ambition of others: and that the ſtory of her life, ſhe hoped, might at leaſt be uſeful, by proving that innocence excuſes not great miſdeeds, if they tend anywiſe to the deſtruction of the commonwealth. After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women; and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted herſelf to the executioner.

The duke of Suffolk was condemned, and executed ſoon after; the Tower and priſons were filled with nobility and gentry on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion; and the queen, finding that ſhe was univerſally hated, determined to diſable them from reſiſtance, by ordering general muſters, and directing the commiſſioners to ſeize their arms.

A new parliament had been ſummoned; and to render it compliant, the emperor is reported to have diſ-

diſtributed above 400,000 crowns in bribes and penſions among the members; yet when Gardiner opened the ſeſſion, by obſerving, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might ariſe from different pretenders, it was neceſſary to inveſt the queen, by law, with a power of diſpoſing of the crown, and of appointing her ſucceſſor; the parliament, who knew her extreme hatred to the lady Elizabeth, and the probability of her making a will in her huſband's favour, and thereby rendering England for ever a province to the Spaniſh monarchy, to cut off Philip's hopes, paſſed a law, "That her majeſty, as their "only queen, ſhould ſolely, and as a ſole queen, "enjoy the crown and ſovereignty of her realms, "with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights "thereto belonging, in as large and ample a man-"ner after her marriage as before, without any title "or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either "as tenant by courteſy of the realm, or by any "other means."

The queen, finding the parliament would not ſerve all her purpoſes, finiſhed the ſeſſion by diſſolving them; and bent all her thoughts on receiving Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe hourly expected. She waited with the utmoſt impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obſtacle was to her a ſource of anxiety and diſcontent. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and ſhe could not conceal her vexation, that though ſhe brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with ſuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a ſingle letter. Her fondneſs was but the more increaſed by this ſupercilious treatment; and when ſhe found that her ſubjects had entertained the greateſt averſion for the event to which ſhe directed her fondeſt wiſhes, ſhe made the whole Engliſh nation the object of her reſentment. A ſquadron, under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then reſided; but the admiral informing her that the diſcontents

ran very high among the ſeamen, and that it was not ſafe for Philip to entruſt himſelf in their hands, ſhe gave orders to diſmiſs them. She then dreaded leſt the French fleet, being maſters of the ſea, might intercept her huſband; and every rumour of danger, every blaſt of wind, threw her into panics and convulſions. Her health, and even her underſtanding, were viſibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and ſhe was ſtruck with a new apprehenſion leſt her perſon, impaired by time, and blaſted by ſickneſs, ſhould prove diſagreeable to her future conſort. Her glaſs diſcovered to her how haggard ſhe was become; and when ſhe remarked the decay of her beauty, ſhe knew not whether ſhe ought more to deſire or apprehend the arrival of Philip.

At laſt came the moment ſo impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton. A few days after they were married in Weſtminſter, and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip diſplayed his wealth with great oſtentation, ſhe carried him to Windſor, the palace in which they afterwards reſided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the Engliſh nation had entertained againſt him. He was diſtant and reſerved in his addreſs; took no notice of the ſalutes even of the moſt conſiderable noblemen; and ſo entrenched himſelf in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inacceſſible: but this circumſtance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who deſired to have no company but her huſband's, and who was impatient when ſhe met with any interruption to her fondneſs. The ſhorteſt abſence gave her vexation; and when he ſhowed civilities to any other woman, ſhe could not conceal her jealouſy and reſentment.

Mary ſoon found that Philip's ruling paſſion was ambition; and to gratify it ſhe ſummoned a new parliament, in hopes to find it more compliant than the former: yet ſuch was the hatred of the Spaniards, that the queen failed in her endeavour to get her huſ-

huſband declared preſumptive heir to the crown. She could not even procure the parliament's conſent to his coronation. That aſſembly was more obſequious in matters of religion: it had reverſed the attainder of cardinal Pole, who, on his arrival in England, being introduced as legate to the king and queen, invited the parliament to reconcile themſelves and the kingdom to the apoſtolic ſee, from which they had been ſo long and ſo unhappily divided. This meſſage was taken in good part; and both houſes voted an addreſs to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a moſt horrible defection from the true church; profeſſing a ſincere repentance of their paſt tranſgreſſions, declaring their reſolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice to the church of Rome; and praying their majeſties, that ſince they were happily uninfected with that criminal ſchiſm, they would intercede with the holy father for the abſolution and forgiveneſs of their penitent ſubjects. The requeſt was eaſily granted. The legate, in the name of his holineſs, gave the parliament and kingdom abſolution, freed them from all cenſures, and received them again into the boſom of the church. The Pope, then Julius III. being informed of theſe tranſactions, ſaid that it was an unexampled inſtance of his felicity to receive thanks from the Engliſh, for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing.

Senſible of the prejudices of the nation againſt him, Philip had aimed at acquiring popularity by an appearance of generoſity. He had obtained the releaſe of ſeveral perſons of rank who had been confined on ſuſpicion; but his ſetting at liberty the princeſs Elizabeth was aſcribed to a refined policy, which made him foreſee that if the princeſs was put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whoſe ſucceſſion would for ever annex England to the crown of France.

The queen's deſire of iſſue had made
A. D. 1555. her fondly give credit to every appearance of pregnancy; when the legate was introduced, ſhe fancied that ſhe felt the embryo ſtir in her womb. Great rejoicings were made. The family of the young prince was already ſettled; for the catholics held themſelves aſſured that the child was to be a male: and Bonner, biſhop of London, made public prayers to be ſaid, that heaven would pleaſe to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation ſtill remained ſomewhat incredulous; and men were perſuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropſy, which the diſordered ſtate of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all poſſible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to ſupport his authority in the kingdom. The parliament paſſed a law, which in caſe of the queen's demiſe, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further conceſſions, came unexpectedly to Weſtminſter and diſſolved them.

There happened an incident this ſeſſion which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Several members of the lower houſe, diſſatisfied with the meaſures of the parliament, but finding themſelves unable to prevent them, made a ſeceſſion in order to ſhow their diſapprobation, and refuſed any longer to attend the houſe. For this inſtance of contumacy they were indicted in the king's-bench after the diſſolution of parliament: ſix of them ſubmitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: the reſt traverſed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an iſſue.

The ſucceſs of Gardiner in governing the parliament, had raiſed his character above that of Pole, who was rather regarded as a good man than a great miniſter.

miniſter. The former, in the reign of Henry, had made his religion ſubſervient to his ſchemes of ſafety or advancement; the latter had thought that no conſideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with the catholic doctrines. Yet ſuch is the prevalence of temper above ſyſtem, that the benevolent diſpoſition of Pole led him to adviſe a toleration of the heretical tenets, which he highly blamed; while the ſevere manners, of Gardiner inclined him to ſupport, by perſecution, that religion which at bottom he regarded with the utmoſt indifference.

The practice of perſecution, ſaid the defenders of Pole's opinions, is the ſcandal of all religion, and ſerves only to make men more obſtinate in their perſuaſion, and to increaſe the number of their proſelytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and perſecution, inſpires the ſectaries, is the proper diſpoſition for foſtering religious zeal: the proſpect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal puniſhments: the glory of martyrdom ſtimulates all the more furious zealots, eſpecially the leaders and preachers: where a violent animoſity is excited by oppreſſion, men naturally paſs from hating the perſons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: and the ſpectators, moved with pity towards the ſuppoſed martyrs, are eaſily ſeduced to embrace thoſe principles which can inſpire men with a conſtancy that appears almoſt ſupernatural.

But Gardiner and his partizans urged, that toleration only ſerved to encourage the hopes of all ſects, and to keep alive their animoſity; and that the ſtake, the wheel, and the gibbet, muſt ſoon terminate in the extirpation, or baniſhment, of the heretics inclined to give diſturbance, and in the entire ſilence and ſubmiſſion of the reſt.

The latter arguments were more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip: it was determined to let looſe the laws in their full vigour againſt the

reformed religion; and England was ſoon filled with ſcenes of horror which have ever ſince rendered the catholic religion the object of general deteſtation.

Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning, was the firſt victim to Gardiner's inhuman plan. Rogers, beſides the care of his own preſervation, lay under other powerful temptations to recant: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet ſuch was his ſerenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a prieſt, and could not poſſibly have a wife; thus joining inſult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield.

Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, had been tried at the ſame time with Rogers; but was ſent to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance was contrived to ſtrike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a ſource of conſolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving teſtimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was ſtill in his power to merit by a recantation: but he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himſelf for that dreadful puniſhment to which he was ſentenced. He ſuffered it in its full ſeverity; the wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not kindle eaſily: all his lower parts were conſumed before his vitals were attacked; one of his hands dropped off: with the other he continued to beat his breaſt; he was heard to pray, and to exhort the people; till his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy.

San-

Sanders was burned at Coventry: a pardon was alſo offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt! "welcome everlaſting life!" Taylor, parſon of Hadley, was puniſhed by fire in that place, ſurrounded by his ancient friends and pariſhioners. When tied to the ſtake, he rehearſed a pſalm in Engliſh: one of his guards ſtruck him in the mouth, and bade him ſpeak Latin: another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

The crime for which almoſt all the proteſtants were condemned was, their refuſal to acknowledge the real preſence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would ſtrike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who ſeeemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy ſufferers. He ſometimes whipped the priſoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exerciſe: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refuſed to relinquiſh his religion; and that he might give him a ſpecimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt.

Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was burned in his own dioceſe; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to. Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, formerly biſhop of Worceſter, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, periſhed together in the ſame flames at Oxford, and ſupported each other's conſtancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the ſtake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we ſhall this "day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as, I truſt in "God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed." The executioners had been ſo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be aſcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about

theſe prelates, in order to put a ſpeedy period of their tortures: the exploſion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; Ridley continued alive during ſome time in the midſt of the flames.

The tender ſex itſelf, as they have commonly greater propenſity to religion, produced many examples of the moſt inflexible courage, in ſupporting the profeſſion of it againſt all the fury of the perſecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumſtances which, even at that time, excited aſtoniſhment by reaſon of their unuſual barbarity. A woman in Guernſey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the ſtake, was thrown into ſuch agitation by the torture, that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it; but a magiſtrate who ſtood by, ordered it to be thrown back, being determined, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprang from ſo obſtinate and heretical a parent.

Theſe inſtances of barbarity, ſo unuſual in the nation, excited horror, and rendered the Spaniſh government ſtill more odious: it was in vain Philip ordered his confeſſor to deliver in his preſence a ſermon on toleration; this feeble artifice was ſoon forgotten in an attempt to introduce the inquiſition into England; and the court ſoon after deviſed a more expeditious and ſummary method of ſupporting orthodoxy than even the inquiſition itſelf. They iſſued a proclamation againſt books of hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition; and declared, "That whoſoever had "any of theſe books, and did not preſently burn "them, on ſhewing them to any other perſon, ſhould "be eſteemed rebels; and without any farther delay "be executed by martial law." From the ſtate of the Engliſh government during that period, it is not ſo much the illegality of theſe proceedings, as their violence, and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our cenſure.

We

We have thrown together almoſt all the proceedings againſt heretics, though carried on during a courſe of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as poſſible, to return to ſuch ſhocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons were brought to the ſtake; beſides thoſe who were puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This perſevering cruelty appears aſtoniſhing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practiſed in other countries. A great author computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated againſt the reformers, there had been fifty thouſand perſons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had alſo been conſiderable. Yet in both countries, as the ſame author ſubjoins, the progreſs of the new opinions, inſtead of being checked, was rather forwarded by theſe perſecutions.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Roman communion; and little conſideration was requiſite to perſuade the Pope to receive the ſtrayed flock. Yet Paul IV. inſiſted that the poſſeſſions of the church ſhould be reſtored to the uttermoſt farthing. Though his demand had little influence on the Engliſh in general, it operated powerfully on the queen, who was determined, in order to eaſe her conſcience, to reſtore all the church lands which were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the crown: and the more to diſplay her zeal, ſhe erected anew ſome convents and monaſteries, notwithſtanding the low condition of the exchequer. When this meaſure was debated in council, ſome members objected, that if ſuch a conſiderable part of the revenue were diſmembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the

queen

queen replied, that ſhe preferred the ſalvation of her ſoul to ten ſuch kingdoms as England. Theſe imprudent meaſures would not probably have taken place ſo eaſily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: the great ſeal was given to Heathe, archbiſhop of York, that an eccleſiaſtic might ſtill be poſſeſſed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the perſecutions againſt the reformed.

Theſe perſecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public diſcontent appeared in the new parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter. A bill was paſſed, reſtoring to the church the tenths and firſt-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herſelf, great oppoſition was made to the bill in the houſe of commons. An application being made for a ſubſidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refuſed by the commons; and many members ſaid, that while the crown was thus deſpoiling itſelf of its revenue, it was in vain to beſtow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another, for incapacitating ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy, from being juſtices of peace. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

The ſpirit of oppoſition in the parliament, was the more vexatious to Mary, as Philip, tired of her importunate love and jealouſy, and finding his authority limited in England, had gone over to Flanders. His indifference, added to the diſappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and ſhe gave vent to her ſpleen, by daily enforcing the perſecutions againſt the proteſtants, and even by expreſſions of rage againſt all her ſubjects, by whom ſhe knew herſelf to be hated, and whoſe oppoſition, in refuſing an entire compli-

ance

ance with Philip, was the cauſe, ſhe believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her ſo little of his company. The leſs return her love met with, the more it increaſed; and ſhe paſſed moſt of her time in ſolitude, where ſhe gave vent to her paſſion, either in tears, or in writing fond epiſtles to Philip, who ſeldom returned her any anſwer, and ſcarcely deigned to pretend any ſentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which ſhe attended was the extorting money from her people, in order to ſatisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a ſcanty ſupply, ſhe had recourſe to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 l. upon a thouſand perſons, of whoſe compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, ſhe held herſelf beſt aſſured: but that ſum not ſufficing, ſhe exacted a general loan on every one who poſſeſſed twenty pounds a-year. This impoſition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged many of them to retrench their expences, and diſmiſs their ſervants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: and as theſe ſervants, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and having no means of ſubſiſtence, commonly betook themſelves to theft and robbery, the queen publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe obliged their former maſters to take them back to their ſervice. She levied 60,000 marks on 7000 yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and ſhe exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage ſome Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, ſhe paſſed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exportation of any Engliſh cloth or kerſey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a good market for ſuch as had already ſent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciouſneſs engaged her to give endleſs diſturbance and interruption to commerce. The Engliſh company ſettled in Antwerp having refuſed her a loan of 40,000 l.

ſhe diſſembled her reſentment till ſhe found that they had bought and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching. She then laid an embargo on the ſhips, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 l. at firſt demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 l. more at a limited time, and to ſubmit to an arbitrary impoſition of twenty ſhillings on each piece. Some time after ſhe was informed, that the Italian merchants had ſhipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a-piece, the uſual impoſition: ſhe ſtruck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the Engliſh merchants, in conſideration of this iniquity, the ſum of 50,000 l. and an impoſition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they ſhould export. She attempted to borrow great ſums abroad; but her credit was ſo low, that though ſhe offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 l. ſhe could not obtain it till ſhe compelled the city of London to be ſurety for her. All theſe violent expedients were employed, while ſhe herſelf was in profound peace with all the world, and had viſibly no occaſion for money but to ſupply the demands of a huſband, who gave attention only to his own convenience, and ſhowed himſelf entirely indifferent about her intereſts.

Philip was now become maſter of the
A. D. 1556. wealth of the new world, and of the richeſt dominions in Europe, by the voluntary reſignation of Charles V. who in the vigour of his life determined to ſeek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happineſs which he had in vain purſued amidſt the tumults of war. His brother Ferdinand had ſucceeded to the imperial dignity; but the reſt of his immenſe territories acknowledged Philip, who finding himſelf threatened with a war with France, was deſirous of embarking England in the quarrel.

Mary, though extremely averſe to the meaſure, was incapable of reſiſting her huſband's commands; but ſhe had little weight with her council, ſtill leſs with her people; and a new act of barbarity tended to increaſe the unpopularity of her government.

Cranmer had long been detained priſoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to puniſhment; and in order the more fully to ſatiate her vengeance, ſhe reſolved to puniſh him for hereſy, rather than for treaſon. He was cited by the Pope to ſtand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in cloſe cuſtody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner biſhop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were ſent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which ſuited his ſavage nature. The implacable ſpirit of the queen, not ſatisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which ſhe believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful ſentence to which he was condemned, prompted her alſo to ſeek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Perſons were employed to attack him, not in the way of diſputation, againſt which he was ſufficiently armed; but by flattery, inſinuation, and addreſs; by repreſenting the dignities to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying thoſe powerful friends, whom his beneficent diſpoſition had attached to him during the courſe of his proſperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the proſpect of thoſe tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the ſentiments of nature to prevail over his reſolution, and he agreed to ſubſcribe the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy, and of the real preſence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; and they ſent him orders that he ſhould be required to acknowledge his errors in church,

church, before the whole people, and that he ſhould thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a ſecret intimation of their deſign, or had repented of his weakneſs, ſurpriſed the audience by a contrary declaration. He ſaid, that he was well appriſed of the obedience which he owed to his ſovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without reſiſtance, whatever hardſhips they ſhould impoſe upon him: that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to ſpeak truth on all occaſions, and not to relinquiſh, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: that there was one miſcarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he ſeverely repented; the inſincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakneſs to conſent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation; and was willing to ſeal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven; and that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed, by a ſevere but juſt doom, and ſhould firſt pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the ſtake, amidſt the inſults of the catholics; and having now ſummoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment, with ſingular fortitude. He ſtretched out his hand; and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely conſumed. His thoughts ſeemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud ſeveral times, *This hand has offended.* Satisfied with that atonement, he then diſcovered a ſerenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible of

his

his outward ſufferings, and, by the force of hope and reſolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itſelf, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that after his body was conſumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidſt the aſhes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his conſtancy, was fondly believed by the zealous proteſtants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; poſſeſſed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, ſincerity, and beneficence, and all thoſe virtues which were fitted to render him uſeful and amiable in ſociety. His moral qualities procured him univerſal reſpect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell ſhort of the rigid inflexibility obſerved in many, made him the hero of the proteſtant party.

Pole, who on Crammer's death was inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury, neither countenanced theſe furious meaſures, nor approved the intention of the queen to engage England in the war which was kindled between France and Spain. But Philip, to inforce his demand, had come to London, and declared to Mary, if he was not gratified in this requeſt, he would never more ſet foot in England; yet it was not without employing both menaces and artifices that Mary prevailed, and that the council conſented to a declaration of war.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 l. and to ſupport the war the queen had recourſe to the moſt arbitrary methods. She obliged the city of London to ſupply her with 60,000 pounds on her huſband's entry; ſhe levied before the legal time the ſecond year's ſubſidy voted by parliament; ſhe iſſued anew many privy ſeals, by which ſhe procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which ſhe could not victual by reaſon of the dearneſs of proviſions, ſhe ſeized all the corn ſhe could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all theſe expedients, A. D. 1557.

aſſiſted

aſſiſted by the power of preſſing, ſhe levied an army of 10,000 men, which ſhe ſent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any diſturbance at home, many of the moſt conſiderable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and leſt they ſhould be known, the Spaniſh practice was followed: they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

The king of Spain had aſſembled an army which, after the junction of the Engliſh, amounted to above 60,000 men; and the duke of Savoy, who commanded it, ſuddenly inveſted St. Quintin. The conſtable Montmorency, who had advanced imprudently to the relief of it, was totally defeated and made priſoner by the beſiegers. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into conſternation. Paris was attempted to be fortified; and had the Spaniards preſently marched thither it could not have failed to have fallen into their hands; but the caution of Philip determined him to take St. Quintin; the delay of the ſiege allowed the French to recover their ſpirits; and beſides St. Quintin, Ham and Catelet were the only fruits which Philip reaped from this deciſive victory.

The Engliſh had ſoon ſufficient reaſon to repent of having entered into the war. The town of Calais was ſurrounded with marſhes, which during the winter was impaſſable, except over a dyke guarded by two caſtles, St. Agatha and Newnam-bridge; this induced the Engliſh to diſmiſs a part of the garriſon in the autumn, and to recall them in the ſpring. On this circumſtance, the duke of Guiſe founded the deſign of making a ſudden attack on Calais. Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being ſuddenly aſſembled, formed an army, with which Guiſe made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the ſame time a great

A. D. 1558.

great number of French ſhips, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruiſing on the Engliſh, compoſed a fleet which made an attack by ſea on the fortifications. The French aſſaulted St. Agatha with three thouſand harquebuſiers; and the garriſon, though they made a vigorous defence, were ſoon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnham bridge. The ſiege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the ſame time the fleet battered the riſbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and both theſe caſtles ſeemed expoſed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garriſon was incloſed in the caſtle of Newnham bridge and the riſbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which without their aſſiſtance he was utterly unable to defend. The garriſon of Newnham bridge was ſo happy as to effect this purpoſe; but that of the riſbank could not obtain ſuch favourable conditions, and were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The duke of Guiſe, now holding Calais blockaded by ſea and land, thought himſelf ſecure of ſucceeding in his enterpriſe; but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries againſt the caſtle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the foſſée, he commanded an aſſault, which ſucceeded; and the French made a lodgment in the caſtle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover his poſt; but having loſt two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it, he found his garriſon ſo weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guiſnes fell ſoon after; and thus the duke of Guiſe, in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himſelf maſter of this ſtrong fortreſs, that had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months,

at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Creſſy.

It was not only the loſs of Calais that embarraſſed the Engliſh. The Scots, excited by the French, began to move on the borders. The queen dowager had obtained the regency, and influenced by her brothers, the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, ſhe ordered ſome fortifications to be conſtructed at Eyemouth, a place which had been diſmantled by the laſt treaty with Edward.

The enterpriſes of the Scots proceeded no farther than the borders; yet in order to connect Scotland more cloſely with France, and to increaſe the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was ſent by the Scottiſh parliament to aſſiſt at the ceremony, and to ſettle the terms of the contract.

The cloſe alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repoſe and ſecurity of Mary; and it was foreſeen, that though the factions and diſorders which might naturally be expected in the Scottiſh government, during the abſence of the ſovereign, would make its power leſs formidable, that kingdom would at leaſt afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament, and to demand of them ſome ſupplies to her exhauſted exchequer. And as ſuch an emergency uſually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments during this reign had ſhewn, that where the liberty and independency of the kingdom were menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court, we ſhould naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money ſhould at leaſt be cenſured, and, perhaps, ſome remedy be for the future provided againſt them. The commons, however, without making any reflections

flections on the paſt, voted, beſides a fifteenth, a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on goods. The parliament alſo paſſed an act confirming all the ſales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or ſhould be made during the ſeven enſuing years.

The Engliſh nation during this whole reign were under great apprehenſions with regard not only to the ſucceſſion, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. It required all the prudence of that princeſs to elude the effects of the violent hatred which the queen bore to her. She concealed her ſentiments of religion, and complied with the preſent modes of worſhip. When queſtioned reſpecting the Real Preſence, the net for catching the Proteſtants, ſhe anſwered:

Chriſt was the word that ſpake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail. Some diſgrace which the Engliſh ſuffered, in attempting to land on the coaſt of Brittany, was ſoon revenged on the French. The mareſchal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thouſand men. He was overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines; and having fortified his left wing, he poſted his right near the river Aa, which he reaſonably thought gave him full ſecurity from that quarter. But a ſquadron of ten Engliſh ſhips, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing, ſailed up the river, and flanking the French with their artillery, gave the Spaniards a complete victory.

Meanwhile the principal armies of France and Spain had approached each other on the frontiers of

Picardy. The preſence of the two kings excited the expectation of ſome important event. But neither Philip nor Henry were willing to ſtake their pretenſions on the ſucceſs of a battle. Negociations for peace were entered into, and the armies retired into winter quarters, till the princes could come to ſome agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the reſtitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; and Philip, that of Calais and its terirtory to England; but in the midſt of theſe negociations, news arrived of Mary's death. The loſs of Calais, and the abſence of her huſband, had preſſed on the declining health of this princeſs, and had brought on a lingering fever of which ſhe died, after a ſhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Few qualities, either eſtimable or amiable, mark the character of Mary; and her perſon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addreſs. Obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, and revenge, the fruits of a bad temper, and a narrow underſtanding, are with juſtice aſcribed to her; and this long catalogue of vices is only broken by the ſingle virtue of ſincerity.

Under her reign the naval power of England was ſo inconſiderable, that fourteen thouſand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thouſand pounds a year afterwards would anſwer all neceſſary charges.

We may form a notion of the little progreſs made in refinement about this time, from one circumſtance. The comptroller of Edward the Vth's houſehold paid only thirty ſhillings a year of our preſent money for his houſe in Channel-Row. Yet labour and proviſions, and conſequently houſes, were only about a third of the preſent price. Eraſmus, deſcribing the ſlovenly habits of the people of England, ſays, "the floors are commonly

"of

" of clay, ſtrewed with ruſhes, under which lies " unmoleſted an ancient collection of beer, greaſe, " fragments, bones, ſpittle, excrements of dogs " and cats, and every thing that is naſty." And according to Hollingſhed there was ſcarcely a chimney to the houſes, even in the moſt conſiderable towns. The fire was kindled by the wall, and the ſmoke ſought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows. The houſes were nothing but watling plaiſtered over with clay; the people ſlept on ſtraw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow, and almoſt all the furniture and utenſils were of wood.

The firſt general law in regard to highways, and which appointed them to be repaired by pariſh duty, was paſſed in this reign.

END OF VOL. I.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

BOOKS *lately publiſhed by the ſame* AUTHOR; *and ſold by* C. *and* G. KEARSLEY, *No.* 46, *Fleet Street.*

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of that Monarchy, brought down to, and including, a COMPLETE NARRATIVE of the late REVOLUTION.

The opinions of the different Reviewers upon this Publication:

"Of the preſent Work the execution has not only anſwered but exceeded our expectation. The reader will here find a conciſe and comprehenſive view of the whole Hiſtory; he will find the great outlines of the portrait delineated by the pencil of a ſkilful artiſt; he will ſee every feature in its proper place and due proportion; and while the more feeble ſtrokes and delicate touches, which do not enter into a ſketch, are judiciouſly omitted, the bolder and more prominent lineaments are marked with that accuracy and preciſion which conſtitute a juſt and ſtriking likeneſs. To drop the metaphor, the Author's materials are well ſelected, and well arranged; his obſervations and remarks are ingenious, and diſcover a knowledge of human nature, and his language is generally correct and animated. Upon the whole, this work will be found eminently ſerviceable to perſons of every age and deſcription who are deſirous of acquiring, in a ſhort time and compaſs, a general and comprehenſive acquaintance with a ſubject which they may not happen to know already, or which they may chance to have forgotten."

Monthly Review.

"The Author adopts the authorities of the moſt eminent writers who have treated, either profeſſedly or incidentally, of the Hiſtory of France; and he acknowledges, that in ſome few inſtances, where he found it neceſſary to convey the exact ſenſe of thoſe writers, he ſhould have thought it preſumption to have altered their expreſſions. This ingenious avowal might juſtify a ſuſpicion that the Work muſt thence be of an unequal and variegated texture; but with reſpect to the firſt and ſecond volumes, where only ſuch adoption could be practiſed, we can truly affirm that this is by no means the caſe. The Author, amidſt the taſk of compilation, has not forfeited his claims to the character of an original hiſtorian; and while he occaſionally gives place to the ſentiments and expreſſions of different writers, he has been careful to preſerve an uniformity in the compoſition of the Work. *Critical Review.*

"Before the appearance of this Publication, a conſiderable link was wanting to general readers, and eſpecially to young perſons, in the great chain of hiſtory. In the Engliſh language there was no Hiſtory of France which a modern reader could peruſe with ſatisfaction. The public are therefore certainly obliged to the anonymous Author of this production for affording them information which was not eaſy to be obtained by the majority of readers; and the publication is peculiarly ſeaſonable at this period, when the affairs of France are ſo much the ſubject of general converſation.

"It is but juſtice to add, that this Hiſtory is written with ſpirit and elegance: The Author is evidently an imitator of Mr. Gibbon's ſtyle, and he is by no means an unſucceſsful one." *Analytical Review.*

The whole is compriſed in three large vols. 8vo. with portraits of the Kings of France elegantly engraved, Price 1l. 2s. 6d. in boards; and by thoſe who have already purchaſed this work, the plates may be had ſeparate for 4s. 6d.

THE HISTORY of SPAIN, from the eſtabliſhment of the colony of GADES by the PHOENICIANS, to the death of FERDINAND, ſurnamed The SAGE. By the AUTHOR of the HISTORY of FRANCE. In three large volumes octavo, price one guinea in boards.

The following characters of the above work have been given by the different Reviews:

"A ſuccinct narrative of events in the Hiſtory of Spain would form a work that, notwithſtanding the brilliant manner in which detached parts have been written, is much wanted in the Engliſh language.—This taſk is here

here undertaken by the writer who has already obliged the public, with brief Hiſtories of France and of Rome. Of his capacity for the taſk we have already expreſſed a favorable opinion. It is therefore now only neceſſary to ſay that this work appears to be executed with the ſame judgment and ability which were diſplayed in the preceding compoſitions.

Monthly Review, Oct. 1794.

"It is a moſt ſingular and unaccountable fact, that, previous to the appearance of theſe volumes, the Engliſh language did not poſſeſs a complete Hiſtory of Spain. We have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in commendation of the uſeful labours of our Author; but we cannot diſmiſs this article without giving our honeſt opinion, that in the conduct and ſtyle of this work he has improved upon his former productions. The matter is well arranged; he has happily ſeized upon the great and diſtinguiſhing features of the Hiſtory, and has not fatigued or confuſed his readers by the minute detail of trivial circumſtances. The ſtyle too, while it is equally animated, is more chaſte and ſimple than that of his Hiſtories of France and Rome; and indeed we have ſeldom peruſed a Hiſtory written in a more lively or agreeable manner." *Critical Review, July* 1793.

"A Hiſtory of Spain by the Author of the Hiſtory of France cannot but be acceptable to the public. A compilation like the preſent has been wanted, and what is now offered to the public is executed with ſpirit, with correctneſs, and with impartiality. *European Mag. May* 1793.

THE HISTORY of ROME, from the Foundation of the City by ROMULUS, to the death of MARCUS ANTONINUS. By the Author of the Hiſtory of France. In three volumes octavo, price 18s. in boards.

"The preſent work has a conſiderable ſhare of merit; eſpecially as the Narrative is brought down to a period which immediately connects this work with the Abridgment of Mr. Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." *Monthly Review, Sept.* 1792.

"This Hiſtory is an elegant, pleaſing, and in general a very uſeful performance, continued through nine centuries to the acceſſion of Commodus. The Author's language is certainly modelled from Mr. Gibbon's, but he has avoided the ſplendor and the faults of that Hiſtorian's ſtyle; and while he has adopted the example in general, we find no inſtance of diſtorted ſentences, of obſcurity, or impropriety." *Critical Review, Aug.* 1792.

A SELECTION from the HARLEIAN MISCELLANY of TRACTS, which principally regard the ENGLISH HISTORY, and moſt of them referred to by HUME and other EMINENT HISTORIANS. In one large volume quarto, cloſely printed, price one guinea in boards.

The following notices of the above work are extracted from the different Reviews:

"The Editor deſerves much commendation for the preſent work, which will render ſeveral intereſting tracts more generally known, and will afford conſiderable entertainment to all who are gratified with hiſtorical reſearches." *Critical Review, June* 1793.

"It is ſufficiently known that the Harleian Miſcellany, from which this is a ſelection, conſiſted of a curious collection of uſeful and entertaining tracts from manuſcripts, occaſional writings, and ſcarce pamphlets, which were found in the library of the celebrated Earl of Oxford. Theſe volumes were become remarkably ſcarce and dear, and the Editor of the publication before us has certainly a claim to the thanks of the curious for the ſervice which he has rendered them." *Britiſh Critic, June* 1793.